

THE Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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Ecclesiastical Affairs.

THE LIBERATION CONFERENCE.

THE assembly which yesterday brought its labours to a successful close at the City Terminus Hotel was, in some respects, absolutely unique. It represented a living force, which has been more or less influencing the mind of the country for nearly a generation past—an ecclesiastical agitation longer-lived if not better sustained than is recorded in the annals of mankind. Seven times has the Liberation Society been renewed by this triennial Parliament of its constituents, and received from them fresh sanction and augmented vigour; and as often have those whom it represents, gathered from all parts of Great Britain, returned from the metropolis inspired with new enthusiasm and a firmer purpose. To any who may have had the privilege of attending from the first all these remarkable meetings, the scene presented on Tuesday morning can hardly have been other than solemn and touching. That it should have been larger and more influential, and have concentrated a greater volume of intelligence, than any preceding Conference was naturally expected; for the Liberation Society has come to the front, and the practical statesmen of the day are investigating its principles and watching its career. But, though many a standard bearer has fallen in the honourable warfare, and many a zealous worker on behalf of the freedom of Christianity has gone to his rest, the nucleus, if not the body, of that assembly, consisted of men who had witnessed the birth of the Society. Individual losses are year by year to be deplored. But fresh volunteers come forward not only to supply the place of the departed, but to profit by their experience and example. Thus quietly, perseveringly, irresistibly, without a pause, careless of abuse, unmoved by misrepresentation, unabashed by defeat, not unduly elated by victory, the Society moves forward to its goal—"the liberation of religion from State patronage and control." Who will deny that the Liberation movement carries with it the presage of success—of that inevitable triumph which must attend a good cause based on the principle of justice, prosecuted by men of earnest religious convictions and undaunted faith, and seeking an object with which all sects and parties can sympathise?

Though that consummation is still afar off, it never assumed so palpable a form as during the present year. After long marches and a toilsome journey, the ecclesiastical Magdala is in sight, and many an intervening obstacle has been removed. The history of the most success-

ful stage of that advance will be found in the luminous report read by the indefatigable Secretary of the Society at the opening of the Conference. Commencing with the record of legislative defeats, it notes the downfall of one buttress after another of the State Church, and culminates in fitting allusion to the new era that has opened upon us, when the Irish Church is being undermined, when disestablishment and disendowment have become familiar expressions in the mouths of practical statesmen, when the Liberation Society has come to be the supreme organisation by means of which every question affecting the rights of conscience and the claims of religious equality, is urged forward. It can be no matter of surprise that on Tuesday morning the venerable chairman was radiant with hope, and the Conference in a somewhat jubilant spirit. But exultation was tempered with discretion, and an enhanced sense of responsibility was manifested in greater unity of purpose, the absence of any discordant element, the sustained attendance, and in the exhibition of entire confidence in the executive of the Society. The possibility of such a mutilation of Mr. Gladstone's Church-rate Bill as would necessitate its withdrawal was greeted with ominous cheers, which the House of Lords would have heard with some disquietude, and the inferior interest excited by Nonconformist grievances, such as Church-rates and exclusion from the Universities, compared with the Irish Church struggle, is a sign that the supporters of the Society are now in front of their greatest difficulty, and that their energies are being braced up to the final conflict. There never has been any concealment of their purpose, nor, even to suit the needs of statesmen or the exigencies of party, was it fitting that there should now be any symptoms of reticence or irresolution. The Conference spoke out, and has borne its testimony without flinching.

The resolutions passed, the papers read, and the speeches delivered were eminently adapted to keep that object in view. If there be any danger that the educated mind of the country will become fascinated with Dean Stanley's ingenious but hopeless attempt to save the Church of England as a national Church, by excluding from it whatever is at variance with modern ideas of religious freedom, Mr. White's masterly essay on the subject furnishes an effectual antidote. The paper read by Mr. Rogers will indicate how much there is to be said on the Ritualist question from the anti-State Church point of view, apart from its theological aspects. Both these thoughtful papers are an earnest that the Liberation Society is not disposed to overlook those special and passing phases of opinion which have a distinct bearing on its ultimate object. The presence and speeches of so many veterans in the Liberation movement, their unimpaired zeal, their earnest counsels, their solemn appeals—what so well adapted to cheer their old comrades, and confirm the faith and strengthen the resolution of the array of recruits whom recent events have drawn into the ranks?

Though the Liberation Society possesses large resources, a compact and extended organisation, an immense constituency scattered over the United Kingdom, and wields an influence which is felt alike on the floor of Parliament and in the Cabinet of the Minister, an outsider can hardly

fail to have been struck with the absence from the Conference of most of the foremost political and ecclesiastical men of the day. Though its constitution is perfectly unsectarian, its avowed adherents are almost exclusively Nonconformists. Its subscription list, indeed, tells a somewhat different tale, and there are numbers who wish it God speed, and contribute to its resources, who hesitate to become identified with the Society itself. National, in the broad sense of the term, it never perhaps will become, though seeking a national object; and maybe its popularity will never be commensurate with its influence. As its aim is work and not show, such may be its condition to the end. The Society is still a bugbear—a veritable hobgoblin to the apprehension of thousands, an enigma to the political adventurer, an offence to the superfine Radical. But its adherents are the very backbone of the Liberal party, and what it is doing, or is going to do, in town and village, for the continuous dissemination of its principles, many of the speeches delivered at the second day's Conference will indicate. Though comparatively unknown, the supporters of the Liberation Society are the Ironsides of modern times, who are content to gain victories for religious freedom, the laurels of which will be gathered by other hands.

The Conference is ended—the Liberation Society remains. Its most arduous task has yet to be entered upon, and amid their natural exultation at the changed aspect of the State Church question, its friends are quite ready to brace themselves anew to the conflict—to that quiet, persistent struggle which will be needed to disestablish even the Irish Church. A general election is at hand; and we have the fullest conviction that the Liberation Conference has not been without effect in stimulating the ardour of the many hundred delegates present to fight zealously under Mr. Gladstone's banner, strenuously support those candidates who are firm supporters of Irish disestablishment, and vindicate their position as the active section in every constituency of the party with whom they are identified. But in respect to the English Church, they are not called upon to ground their arms. To turn the current of public opinion in favour of Free Church principles is a great and not an exciting undertaking; not to be achieved by the blowing of trumpets, but by the persevering diffusion of right principles. There are almost incredible prejudices to be removed, venerable traditions to be encountered, "no Popery" alarms to be laid, faith in the power of Christian willinghood to be inculcated—and who so competent for the work as the men who have taken up this question in an earnest religious spirit? The practical mind of the zealous Treasurer of the Liberation Society has furnished useful hints as to the means by which that influence may be most effectually brought to bear.

For three years to come, the Liberation Society has received a new lease of life from its constituents. Before another Triennial Conference is assembled, the Irish Establishment will probably be dead, and the Irish Church restored to life and freedom—a living exemplar of the power of free Christianity to its sister Churches in England and Scotland. Superadded to that powerful engine of moral influence, which is directed by the Liberation Society, will soon

be the example of Irish Episcopalians, and the progress of that "internal complaint"—religious zeal—which, as Mr. Bright says, will be fatal to the Anglican State Church. But we forbear to speculate. It is for us to ripen public opinion, and to rest assured that at the fitting time, by the arrangements of the All-Wise Disposer of events, "the hour will come—and the man."

CHURCH PROPERTY AFTER DISENDOWMENT.

TOWARDS the close of the debate on the first of Mr. Gladstone's Irish Church Resolutions on Thursday night, something was said by both the great political chiefs respecting the plan on which Mr. Miall had proposed to deal with the property now in the usufruct of the English Church Establishment, to which it may be fitting that we briefly advert. The matter, it is true, is of no immediate practical importance, because no one—not even the most sanguine Liberationist—anticipates that Parliament will revise the ecclesiastical policy sanctioned by law as it respects this kingdom, for some years to come at least. But to prevent misconceptions by which some persons will probably be mystified, and upon which some others will make haste to found wholly unwarrantable conclusions, we wish to put on record Mr. Miall's published suggestions on this head, and to consider the sense in which, and the extent to which, the friendly observations or the adverse criticism they have lately elicited, can be justly taken to apply.

We will first of all quote so much as was said in the debate as may be necessary to our purpose. Mr. Gladstone informed the committee that the principles upon which Mr. Miall proposed to deal with the English Church Establishment "are far more liberal than those which I have endeavoured to sketch in the proposal to deal with the Irish Church Establishment." "The effect of the disestablishment would amount to saying to that Establishment, 'You are to go forth free to do what you please, a perfectly organised religious body, with the value of about £80,000,000 or £90,000,000 in your pockets to start with in the world.'" Upon this statement Mr. Disraeli thus commented—"Now in my view of the necessity and advantage of the connection between Church and State, I am not reconciled to the change by the information, that the Church, dissociated from the State, is to be a very rich Church. In the first place, I cannot bring myself to believe that the people of this country would ever consent to the severance of that tie, and at the same time agree that the Church of England should retain the property which it now possesses. It would be an *imperium in imperio*, which to my mind would render the government of this country almost certainly difficult, perhaps impossible, and therefore I think we must dismiss from our minds the notion that any such arrangement could ever be tolerated by a British Parliament. But we may have a very powerful and very disturbing element in our society without these eighty millions, which Mr. Miall and the right hon. gentleman opposite are quite ready to concede to the Church free from its connection with the State."

We believe that the only authentic form in which Mr. Miall has submitted to the public his proposals for dealing with the property of the English Church, must be looked for in one of two lectures delivered at Bristol in 1860, and subsequently published under the title of "The Church Property Question." Referring to that publication we find the following to be the compensatory arrangements suggested in view of the disestablishment of the Church of England being carried into effect by law. 1. The life interests of existing incumbents are to remain intact. 2. All reasonable expectants—such as curates, persons who have entered the universities with a view to holy orders, and minor functionaries whose income may chance to be derived from parochial endowments—are considered to have an equitable claim for the satisfaction of their personal interests. 3. Compensation is proposed to be given to private patrons whose advowsons would be extinguished. 4. Church edifices, with the glebe and manse standing in the parish, are to be made over "to the body of worshippers in each church," under certain specified conditions. 5. So much of the episcopal estates as would yield to each of the bishops from two to three thousand a year would be left for their support, on the ground that "the Protestant Episcopal Church prefers a form of ecclesiastical organisation, some essential features of which it

would be more difficult to provide for on the voluntary principle than any arrangement adopted by most other communions." The last proposition is the only one not included in Mr. Gladstone's sketch for the disendowment of the Irish Church.

Now it may be quite true that the capitalised value of all these items might fairly be computed as somewhere between eighty and ninety millions sterling—but it is not correct to say that anything approaching to that sum, or to a tenth part of it, would remain as a source of income to the Protestant Episcopal Church when freed from its connection with the State, or, indeed, any income whatever, except in the exceptional instance of the bishops. The whole of the life interests to be satisfied—and, calculated at fifteen years' purchase, their total value might amount to between sixty and seventy millions—would, of course drop with the lives of the present beneficiaries, and would not go towards permanently enriching any ecclesiastical corporation. The Church would have, at the end of the present generation of incumbents, no hold upon the parochial endowments which the State would resume as lives dropped in. It would not become an *imperium in imperio* on account of the magnitude of its corporate possessions. It would retain little beyond the buildings, with the single exception already adverted to. The immense sum named by Mr. Gladstone would be drained off in the course of years by personal life interests, and compensation for extinguished patronage.

Technically, the amount of ecclesiastical service paid for out of the existing revenues of the Church of England would, during the period of running out, represent a capitalised value equal to very nearly the sum Mr. Gladstone has named. But when that service shall come to an end, the fund from which its remuneration will be drawn will revert unimpaired to the nation. The Church will have been enriched to the extent of so many years' clerical service at the expense of the country—but beyond this it will derive no advantage. Personal compensation is a very different thing from corporate resources. Mr. Gladstone's computation has chiefly to do with the first—Mr. Disraeli's criticism presupposes the last. We accept the calculations of the one, though we think they tend to mislead—but we see no ground whatever for the fears of the other. The cautious provision against personal injustice has nothing in common with the permanent endowment of a corporate body.

ECCLESIASTICAL NOTES.

THE second report of the Ritualistic Commission unavoidably suggests the conclusion that it has been drawn up substantially to fit with Sir Robert Phillimore's judgment in the Mackonochie case. A majority of the Commissioners have decided against the use of lighted candles on the altar, the use of incense is also condemned, both being considered to be at variance with the Church's usage since the Reformation. The Commissioners therefore recommend that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations in respect of these two ceremonies. And then the speedy and inexpensive "remedy" which was hinted at in their first report is aired and brought out. It consists in an appeal to the bishop and from him to the archbishop, and from him, if necessary, to the Privy Council. The former are to be in *camera*, and need not cost much, in fact ought not to cost anything, for it might all be done by letter or the presentation of a memorial. And, now-a-days, we imagine, no Registrar will claim fees on these appeals, and no bishop will send bills for discharging the commonest duties of his office. But what does all this involve? The Commissioners say that they do not wish to abridge the liberties of the clergy or the laity:—

In submitting these recommendations to your Majesty we desire to state that we are anxious in no degree to abridge or curtail any of the rightful liberties heretofore enjoyed by the clergy and laity of the Church of England. The National Church may well include men of varying shades of opinion so long as they can combine in a conscientious acceptance of her recognised formularies and appointed rites. But this large comprehension seems to us to render it most desirable that in the celebration of the Church's rites, there shall be introduced no novel features which are welcome only to some, but are offensive to others. All members of the Church being expected to join devoutly in one common form and order of service, are, as we conceive, entitled to expect that no unaccustomed form be used, giving to the service a new tendency and significance, by which the devotion of many is impeded.

This may mean that no Act of Parliament restricting the usages will be applied for, but only an Act giving legal authority to the bishop to restrain them. It certainly does mean that the Commissioners attach far more importance to rites and ceremonies than they do to doctrines. They are above all things

anxious that "varying shades of opinion" should be included in what they are pleased to term the "National Church," but there must be no variation in smaller things. There must be uniformity if there be not unity. This was the doctrine acted upon in 1662, and the ecclesiastics have not grown an inch since that time. One word more. The report is the report of a divided commission. It is in itself a symbol of the Established Church. These very Commissioners could not agree amongst themselves, and in the face of the dangers that beset them, within and without, could not consent to sink their differences. And they will go differing until, to their own consternation, the whole edifice tumbles about their heads.

There is a letter in the *Guardian* from a Church clergyman which raises a point concerning the Irish Church question that has not, we believe, hitherto been raised. The writer, the Rev. George Moody, rector of Gilston, suggests that her Majesty's writ should be issued, "authorising the Irish Church to meet in Convocation or Synod for the despatch of certain business, with power to the same to amend its constitution so as to become a responsible representative of all the members of that Church, lay and clerical. If the State shackles," says Mr. Moody, "are to be knocked off, now is the right time; now, of all times, she needs liberty to consolidate herself and to put herself in good working order to face at the outset the difficulties of her coming new position. She will have work enough to do and little enough time to do it in, even with her hands untied. The Irish Church, Sir, would be better for disestablishment, none the worse for partial disendowment; and both sides of the House would do wisely in exposing her as little and for as short time as possible to the risk of disintegration." This may be plausible, but does not Mr. Moody know that the archbishops and bishops protest against disestablishment? and does he think that self-governing power will be given to that Church before disestablishment takes place? Afterwards the more complete its freedom, the more liberty it has to rule itself, the better. Nothing would give Dissenters more gratification than to aid in establishing and securing this freedom. Convocation may then do what it likes, so long as it does not attempt to exercise coercive power. We imagine that the spectacle of such a Free Church as the Irish Church will then be will excite the jealousy and the emulation of her sister in England. If we do not mistake, she will envy the freedom which she beholds but cannot herself enjoy, and by-and-bye will be glad to take part in the same lot.

There is still one clergyman in England who has not given up Church-rates, nor even given up Mr. Hubbard's scheme. If any one had said that there was such a person in existence, we should have looked down the list of archdeacons to find out who he might be. But we should have missed our mark, for the reverend gentleman is a canon—Canon Kennaway. One last and solitary cry does he lift up for Mr. Hubbard's proposal—one last and solitary protest does he raise for the compulsory system being kept up amongst Churchmen themselves, for he says: "We cannot expect to collect one nominal rate to last even for three years, if there be no law to enforce it." Make a rate, he next cries, for willing Churchmen;—but we thought he had just expressed his conviction that Churchmen were unwilling, and would not be made to pay unless law enforced the payment. What will come of the Church-rates Bill in the Lords we now can scarcely guess, and we scarcely care. The Peers are not celebrated for a wise sagacity, and they may throw over the Bill altogether. If so, all we can say is, the Liberal party will be the stronger and the more united at the next general election, and the Church's days be shortened.

The Baptist anniversary meetings terminated last week. They have been remarkably well attended, and of a most interesting character. Our last report left the Union Meeting after the reading of Mr. Green's paper on National Education. Mr. Green treated his subject with great breadth. He reviewed the relation of the Baptists to the system of State education, and advocated a perfect equality, not merely for all denominations, but for all citizens. He very properly condemned the Conscience Clause proposed in the Bill now before Parliament, but of which, happily, we are not likely to hear any more. The conclusions of the author were as follows:—

I. The State payment, whether by grant, or rate, or both, must be for efficiency in secular teaching only, and secular schools must be admitted with equal right to the benefit.

II. Provision must be made as effective as possible that the receipt of public money should constitute a public school freely accessible to all. No school established by rate should be denominational.

III. If a rating bill is to be of any use at all, its imposition in destitute districts must be compulsory.

The debate on the resolutions founded upon these conclusions was very animated. Mr. Bompas moved

* The Church Property Question. By Edward Miall. Being two lectures delivered in the Broadmead Rooms, Bristol, February 8th and 10th, 1860. London: Arthur Miall, 18, Boulevard-street, Fleet-street. Price Two pence.

an amendment in favour of the voluntary system, and there was, it seems to us, a very strong feeling in favour of it. Ultimately the first resolution was carried, and then the debate was adjourned to the autumn. Good work was done in the way of the augmentation of minister's incomes, the Rev. Charles Williams, of Southampton, having introduced the subject to the Union. The result of the debate which followed will, we should hope, be in favour of a considerable augmentation. The Missionary Society, which held a magnificent meeting on Thursday evening, is, we are glad to find, recovering from its temporary difficulties. Already a great part of its debt is reduced, and the income last year was greater than it had been in any year except that of the Jubilee. All the other special work of the Baptist Home Mission and Young Men's Mission, are not merely in good, but in improved working order. The denomination, as a whole, was probably never in a better state than it is at present.

THE LIBERATION CONFERENCE.

(Continued from Supplement.)

to-day than at any previous period. The bishops have not the power to expel the evil, and have given no indication that they have the will, even if the power were granted. They are weak in consequence of the radical vice of their appointment, for as the nominees of the State, they fail to secure that confidence of the clergy which alone could make their interference successful, while at the same time their connection with the State so hampers and hinders their action as to render it utterly ineffective. But beyond this, they are divided among themselves. Catholicism has at least one representative on the Episcopal Bench, and not less than five distinct shades of opinion are to be traced among those who are more or less its opponents. Equally hopeless is any reliance upon Convocation, for though it dreams and boasts of power, it really possesses none. No statesman would venture on the daring experiment of converting its shams into realities; and even such as it is, it cannot be said to represent the opinion of the Church, while the spirit it has shown renders it more than doubtful whether under any circumstances it would pronounce in favour of that decided Protestantism which the Evangelicals admire. Outside the Church, there is as little ground for hope. The courts of law have been appealed to, but they are notoriously unwilling to interfere with any party which can be shown to have acquired a prescriptive right to toleration. The Evangelicals have shown their weakness by directing their first attack against some points of ritual rather than against any fundamental doctrine, and the judgment in the Mackonochie case, which was passed in review, was shown not to warrant the belief that any great success would attend the proceedings now instituted against Mr. Bennett and those who uphold the doctrine of the "Real Presence." The Catholics claim that the law is in their favour, and with the history of 1862, when two thousand were expelled from the Church for holding principles essentially the same as those now maintained by the Evangelicals, and with the decision in the Gorham case, upholding one of their characteristic opinions, it is impossible to assert that their confidence is without foundation. But should this be the case, there still remains the Legislature, to which numbers look with the assurance that it will prove it the champion of Protestant interests and the asserter of the Protestant character. This hope, the speaker maintained, was even more visionary. The very appeal to such an authority is a concession of a point which all classes of Churchmen have earnestly maintained that their recognition of the supremacy of the State extends no further than that of Nonconformists. There can be no doubt, however, that Parliament has the power if it choose to exercise it, and there can be as little doubt but that practically such exercise is impossible. The discussions to which any proposal for such a revision of the Liturgy, as would render the continuance of Anti-Protestant teachers in the Establishment impossible, would be as melancholy as they would be resultless. The most ardent supporters of the connection between Church and State might well shrink from provoking such a strife, and the more so from the certainty that no satisfactory issue would be reached. Statesmen understand that any positive changes must issue in the disintegration of the Establishment, and they would rather consent to sacrifice it at once than to engage in a process which must bring about the same end by a more circuitous process, and one fraught with immediate and serious perils. But why (asked the speaker) should not all parties accept the inevitable, waive their own exclusive ideas, and consent to dwell together in peace? The answer is obvious. It is not the idea of the Anglican Church. It is based on an Act of Uniformity, and neither party is prepared to repeal that act, and so secure legislative sanction for that more comprehensive policy which the courts of law have taught to authorise, and which, undoubtedly, has many precedents in its favour. Besides, to accept this is to abandon that Protestant idea of the Church so dear to multitudes, in fact to the majority of its supporters. As the result of his survey, the speaker contended that he had successfully shown, not only that the Establishment had failed to give that support to Protestantism, for which many insisted on its continuance, but also that it has not the support or majority of the people—the majority to which it so confidently lays claim as constituting its ground to be the National Church does exist in names only, and sure to be dissolved into a number of separate elements if once its idea be accurately defined. One class support it as a Catholic, another as a Protestant, a third as a comprehensive Church, and the alleged majority is made up of those who use the same word to designate an entirely different institution. It cannot be Catholic and Protestant, both exclusive and comprehensive, and if it be defined to be either one or the other, it must lose the support of some section the subtraction of which would convert the alleged majority into a real minority. When the controversy will be pushed to so definite an issue it is not possible to predict, but there

are numbers among the High Churchmen in particular who are chafing against the fetters by which they are bound, and sooner than is anticipated one or other party may feel that in perfect freedom is to be found the only solution of the difficulties by which they are at present surrounded.

The Rev. GEO. GOULD, of Norwich, moved the following resolution:—

That in the present divided condition of the English Church Establishment, and in the apparent impossibility of restoring unity and order by means either of ecclesiastical authority, of judicial decisions, or of legislative action, this Conference finds convincing proof of the utter inaptitude of the machinery of civil law for inculcating positive truth, for securing uniformity of faith or worship, or for regulating the action of religious communities. That it observes with strong feelings of gratification a wide-spread recognition of this fact among the members of the English Establishment, and their growing perception that self-support and self-government are essential conditions of Church life and Church progress.

He said the Established Church in this country had been avowedly set up for the sake of disseminating Christian truth, and of securing uniformity in Christian observances, and of regulating all the details of Christian worship in the congregations organised, and in connection with the Episcopal Establishment in this country. It had utterly failed in securing the uniformity, and was broken up into many and various sections, showing that its connection with the State was a source of weakness rather than of strength.

The Rev. DR. EDMOND, of London, seconded the resolution. Although a Presbyterian he vindicated his right to interfere in the affairs of the Established Church, and regarding it as a political institution, he could not escape from the responsibility thrown upon him so long as it existed. Every citizen of the realm was entitled to take an interest in the Church, and if he could not put an end to it, he should at all events endeavour to limit the evils connected with it.

The Rev. CHARLES STOVEL supported the resolution. He said religion being a life it must have some direction in its action. It was a dependent life, and must have some support. The question was, who should direct it, and who should enjoy it. Surely its Author. If they moved from that position they leaped from a precipice into utter ruin. Dr. Lushington in a judgment in the Court of Arches once said, that no matter how true, how necessary, how evident a doctrine might be, still if it contravened the articles of the Church of England, it must not be taught by a clergyman of that Church. What, however, he wished for was that all men, Ritualists and Roman Catholics as well as others, might be free to discuss, to teach, to sustain intellectually and morally whatever they believed to be the truth. (Cheers.)

The resolution was put to the meeting, and carried unanimously.

MR. ALFRED ILLINGWORTH, of Bradford, proposed,—

That inasmuch as a special responsibility will rest upon the Society's supporters in connection with the appeal to be made to the constituencies early next year, the Conference recommends both the executive committee and the Society's local organisations to adopt prompt and adequate electoral measures for so influencing the constituencies, and especially the newly enfranchised, as to ensure the return of a Parliament pledged to the adoption of the principle of religious equality.

The Church, he said, and its supporters had been taken by surprise, but before long they would recover, and every one of the vast army of clerical functionaries would be at his post in anticipation of the general election. Therefore, though the Society had justice on its side, yet without a severe struggle even the question of the Irish Church would not be settled. He would, then, appeal to them to go home and make this question the question of the day, allowing themselves no rest in order that they may not fail when the momentous struggle arrived. He also appealed to the great Wesleyan body, whose influence was strong enough to turn the scale either for or against them at the next election. He believed they were now awaking to the question, and he knew that both the late and the present Presidents of the Wesleyan Conference were in favour of the disendowment of the Irish Church.

MR. JOHN BACHELOR, of Cardiff, seconded the resolution.

MR. H. COSSHAM, of Bristol, supported the motion. He believed that the Tory party hoped, by throwing dirt of all kinds upon their opponents, to prevent honest men from winning at the general election. They had had to encounter some of the filth at Bristol, but he believed they would be able to claim the seat, and to have it within a month. (Loud cheers.) The Society's principles would not allow it to fight dirt with dirt, and therefore they must fall back upon great principles. There was no time during the election at Bristol when he could not have won for 5,000l., and at one time 500 shillings would have done it; but they were determined to fight the contest strictly within the law. He should be sorry to have to find the money that the Tory party spent, viz., over 15,000l., to secure the seat. They knew the influence of the party could not be maintained without corruption, and therefore it behoved the Liberals to make it known that every seat which was gained by any illegal means would be appealed against. They must make it perfectly clear to the constituencies that the Tory party, rather than disendow Protestantism, would go in for the endowment of Catholics and everybody else. They would even rather endow the devil than give up endowment, and he did not believe they would do so much mischief in doing that as they had already done. The question now was universal endowment or universal disendowment. Behind the question of the Irish Church was that of the English Church, and when the former was cleared out of the way, they would be able to stand face to face with the latter. Let them therefore in the next six months do their duty earnestly and in a Christian spirit, and future generations would look back with pleasure to the work of this year. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried unanimously.

A resolution was then agreed to expressing the deep loss which the Society had experienced in the death of the Rev. Dr. Price since the last Conference.

Rev. GEO. HUTTON, of Paisley, moved a vote of thanks to the Rev. E. White and the Rev. J. G. Rogers for the papers which they had read to the Conference.

Rev. J. FLETCHER, of Christchurch, seconded the motion, which was unanimously adopted.

Rev. W. P. CLAYTON, of Wokingham, proposed a vote of thanks to the chairman of the meeting, to the committees, and to all who had contributed to make the conference a means of advancing the objects for which it was assembled.

MR. NUNNELEY, of Market Harboro', seconded the

resolution, which was agreed to, and the proceedings terminated.

THE SOIREE AT HANOVER-SQUARE ROOMS.

The proceedings of the Conference were brought to a close last (Wednesday) evening, with a soiree at the Hanover-square Rooms. Tea was provided in the lower rooms, and at seven o'clock the company, of whom a large proportion were ladies, adjourned to the concert-room upstairs, which they filled from one end to the other. Among those who were present were the Rev. J. H. Hinton, Rev. H. Allon, Rev. Christopher Nevile, Mr. W. Edwards, Mr. H. Lee, of Manchester, Mr. Prentice, of Stowmarket, Rev. O. Stovel, Rev. J. P. Mursell, of Leicester, Rev. F. Trestrail, Rev. W. C. Squier, of Manchester, Dr. Underhill, Mr. Douglas, of Cavers, Mr. W. Morgan, of Birmingham, Rev. J. Guthrie, of Glasgow, Mr. S. Viccars, of Leicester, Travers Buxton, Mr. J. Colman, of Norwich, Rev. J. Davies, of Cardiff, Rev. G. Gould, of Norwich, Rev. Isaac Lord, of Birmingham, Mr. W. Baines, of Leicester, the Rev. P. W. Clayden, Nottingham, E. Miall, Esq., Mr. Mason Jones, the Rev. F. Tresfail, the Rev. Dr. Stook, Devonport, Rev. W. Miall, E. Butler, Esq., Leeds, P. Adams, Esq., Plymouth, the Rev. R. Hamilton, Brighton, the Rev. J. Elwick, Sunderland, the Rev. J. Millard, the Rev. D. Thomas, Bristol, E. S. Robinson, Esq., Rev. Dr. Edmond, Mr. Jas. Spicer, Rev. R. D. Wilson, &c. The chair was taken by J. H. Tillet, Esq., of Norwich.

MR. CARVELL WILLIAMS, the Secretary, commenced the meeting with a brief statement of the proceedings of the Conference at the Cannon-street Hotel, and of the recent operations of the Society. His reference to the resolution respecting the Irish Church, and especially the mention of the name of Mr. Gladstone, were received with the warmest applause. In connection with this subject, he stated that so far back as 1856, Mr. Miall, at the instance of the Liberation Society, mooted the question in the House of Commons, and submitted a resolution in almost precisely the same terms as Mr. Gladstone's famous resolution. The committee of the Society, so far from considering the recent great divisions in Parliament as decisive, were planning a fresh campaign, feeling that until the whole of the Irish Church had been destroyed nothing practical had been done, and that until the next generation had pronounced the doom of the Irish Church, would the Society be able to congratulate themselves without reserve.

The CHAIRMAN said he believed that we had not finished the campaign, we had only begun it. We were now at the commencement of a long and arduous struggle. It seemed to him incomprehensible that those who defended the English Establishment should not have acceded to Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, for by the fact of connecting the English Establishment with the Irish Establishment, they virtually sentenced the English Establishment to the doom which had already passed the Commons. (Hear, hear.) It was not for the Liberation Society to regret this. The whole principle would be put before the country, and by the agitation and discussion which would ensue in every town and parish, the people of the United Kingdom would be brought at last to a proper conclusion. He believed that in the end the folly of the English Establishment men would lead to the earlier, a more complete, and more satisfactory settlement of the whole question. As we were entering upon a most important campaign, it was of importance that we should know what were the weapons we were to use in this struggle. The first point he would dwell upon was the urgency of having one simple issue before the country. Seeing how united their opponents were, let not raise all sorts and varieties of ories for the purpose of dividing their forces and weakening their strength. The next dissolution would be upon one issue. The whole country would be as it were a jury, and they would have to try the cause of the Irish Church Establishment. It would be most injurious if any other issue was forced upon the national attention. He, therefore, would most earnestly impress upon all that the appeal which was about to be made to the people should be limited to one question—"Ought the Irish Church Establishment to cease, or ought it not?" (Cheers.) He thought they wanted a rallying cry, and he did not know one better than, "Gladstone for Premier!" (Loud cheers.) Mr. Gladstone dwelt in the hearts of the people; the working men throughout the country would respond to the name of "Gladstone" more heartily than to any other name. But while he spoke of that name with respect and admiration, he must also with all faithfulness, but without bitterness, speak of the name of Mr. Disraeli. (Hisses.) He believed that that man was dragging down the dignity of British statesmanship; that he was bringing dishonour and disgrace upon the British Treasury Bench. He looked forward to the time when the people in our large towns would assemble and send up addresses to the Queen praying her to remove him from her counsels. He did not know what the feeling was in London, but in the country they were heartily ashamed of the name of Disraeli, and were moved with a strong, patriotic feeling of disgust in regard to the arts, and stratagema, and deceptions of that Minister of the Crown. As one instance of that deception, he referred to the "No Popery" cry which was being raised by the Tory party, in order to influence public opinion against Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, while at the very same time that party were prepared in Parliament to endow the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. It would be the duty of the Liberation Society to put that point clearly and conclusively before the country. There was another important point—Did the Irish Church Establishment promote the cause of Protestantism in Ireland? There was the strongest and most conclusive proof to the contrary. Notwithstanding that this Establishment had been maintained at enormous expense, there was a smaller proportion of Protestants in Ireland than there was one hundred years ago, while the Roman Catholics in Ireland had become more bigoted and more inconvertible than the Catholics in any other part of the world. Again, it was known that ten millions of Catholics had emigrated to the United States,

yet at the last census there were only four millions of Roman Catholics in that country. In Ireland the Establishment system confirmed and hardened Roman Catholicism, while in America free churches operated as a solvent. Unless these facts could be met it seemed to him there was a complete answer for the public mind. It was said we sought to destroy. We were not seeking to destroy, we were seeking to restore. We were a "Church Restoration Society." We were seeking simply to bring back the Church of England to what the Church was as founded by Christ and by His apostles. Sir Robert Peel urged upon his party the duty of "registering." Mr. Disraeli, when he received a deputation of working men the other day, urged on them to "organise and educate." He would put together those three words and urge upon the people to "register, educate, and organise." He would recommend that means should be employed to bring the question at issue before the working men, so that they might discuss it in their workshops. The working men would henceforth constitute the majority of the electors; it would, therefore, be necessary to educate and organise them, so that they might be prepared to bring their influence to bear upon this question of justice to Ireland and of free churches. (Cheers.)

The Rev. P. W. OLAYDEN, of Nottingham, moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting reviews with gladness the results of the recent operations of the executive committee—congratulating them on the increase of their pecuniary resources; on the effectiveness of their Parliamentary action, and on the success of their efforts to secure the co-operation of young men in the advocacy of the Society's principles. That, recognising with great thankfulness the recent unprecedented advances of those principles in public estimation, the meeting, nevertheless, feels it to be needful that there should be no relaxation of exertion until the aims of the Society have been completely realised.

He considered the enlistment of the young men in the advocacy of the Society's principles one of the most important parts of their efforts. The important part was not always that of reaping what was sown; it was rather that of sowing again for the new harvest of the future. Even yet they would fail in their ultimate objects if they did not struggle hard by preparing the young to carry on the battle where the present leaders of the Society were no more. They should not congratulate themselves that the battle was won: it was not so. But what they had to be jubilant about was that a new and noble champion had stepped into the lists, and that the whole of the Liberal party had taken up a large portion of the armour of the Liberation Society, and was now wearing it. (Cheers.) They had yet a great battle to fight, and all their energy, determination, zeal, and enthusiasm were needed to secure the final victory. It was a sad thing that amongst the intelligent and educated people of the middle classes the cry of "No Popery" should have been revived, and that they should have been misled by such manifest insincerity. He should like to see put into the hands of the electors, at the next election, a list of the members of the Church of England who had gone over to Rome, and another list of those who had left the Dissenting party for that Church. It was well known that such a list would prove that the Church of England was not a barrier against the Church of Rome, but rather a feeder for it. The truth was that the English Establishment was a barrier against Protestantism, not against Romanism—(cheers); and the great obstacle, both in Ireland and in this country, to the true Church going forth and reaping the harvest which was white for their sickles. A new era had now dawned upon them, but just as during the spring they were liable to the recurrence of severe east winds, so after the new era had begun, they would have many occasions when it would be necessary to look to their principles and remember what their fathers had striven for, and to exhibit their determination to carry out their principles to a triumphant recognition by the legislature of the country.

The Rev. G. W. CONDER, in seconding the resolution, said he did not think we could have had a better augury for our future, and a better ground of hope than what had taken place in the great meeting in support of the Irish Church this afternoon. A house divided against itself would not stand, and it was a very happy thing to know that in that very meeting the Bishop of Oxford had had to sit down for some minutes before he could obtain a hearing. (Cheers.) That was a significant sign that if we had to fight the battle for years to come, we should at all events not have to fight it against one undivided phalanx of men all of one mind. He, however, never felt less disposed to indulge in a tone of elation and jubilation than at present. It would be affectation to pretend that he did not feel gratification at the success which had attended the labours of the Society; but it was rather the gratification of one who felt that the battle had really begun, not that the victory had been attained. We had been digging our trenches around this thing that we wanted to overthrow; we had been pushing them nearer and nearer, first of all amidst the laughter and scorn and taunts of those who dwelt within the tower; but now they were alive to the fact that the Society was doing its work, and that without doubt this relic of feudalism was doomed. This change of public opinion had been the work of Providence far more than our own work, but still we had been labouring to remove an injustice, and to undo a great, a mischievous, a fatal mistake made in the ages gone by, which had been a huge hindrance to the progress of the truth of God in the world. Everywhere there had been a great growth in the public mind, and this advance was due to the light of Divine Providence, by means of which the evil of the thing against which we had been fighting for years was made apparent. The Liberation Society was not able to bring upon its platform two archbishops, a number of bishops, and titled dignitaries and peers of the realm. A few earnest men, honoured and beloved in their own little circles, had originated the Society, and the bulk of its members had always been tradespeople and merchants. It was composed of just the simple, plain members of the Independent and Baptist bodies principally—the same class of people as those who about 230 years ago left the bench, and the shop, and the mill, and the counting-house, to rally round a man who up to that time had not had a very renowned name, and to wrest the liberties of this English nation out of the hands of a tyrannous monarch. (Loud applause.) This was the kind of material of which God had always made choice for the accomplish-

ment of His purposes. As a specimen of the kind of battle we should have to fight, he would just allude to a few of the names which had been given to us. The institution we sought to get rid of was worth as much, perhaps a little less, than what its defenders said it was. The Prime Minister spoke of us as the "shallow and short-sighted fanatics of the Liberation Society." (A laugh.) He did not think the Prime Minister could have hit upon a name more inappropriate. "Shallow" we could not be, because according to our opponents we had gone down to the very depths of the question. And to call us "short-sighted" was another blunder. But he had made a "Benjamin's mess" of it. (Laughter and cheers.) The fact was they had been seeing too far, for it was but three years ago that Mr. Gladstone himself said the disestablishment of the Irish Church was a question too remote to be entertained. There could not be a more inappropriate name applied to us. Another gentleman in his district, a captain of an Evangelical turn of mind, spoke of us as a "vulturous society." He might have found the word in the Bible. There was one passage which he remembered: "Where the carcass is, there the vultures will be gathered together." (Laughter.) Vultures were called scavengers of the desert; and in that sense we might be called vultures, because we sought to sweep away a nuisance which had long lain on the surface of society. He looked with confidence to the future. He believed we had success before us, not immediate, not rapid, not perhaps what he should call brilliant, but he felt confident that success lay before us. (Cheers.)

The Rev. JOSEPH FLETCHER, of Christchurch, supported the resolution. He said the Church Establishment was a remnant of feudalism. The people of this country had never given their assent to the Church of England; they never have asked to give their assent to it. If the question had ever been put, and if there had been an answer to that question by a large majority, then it might be fairly said that the country had willed it to be so. It came down from ancient times, when this country was altogether enslaved, both civilly and religiously. As light broke in, and one chain after another was snapped, it so happened that this, perhaps the worst of all, had remained unbroken to the present day. Kings and nobles set up what they deemed to be the right religion, and compelled all classes of people to support it and pay for its support. Mr. Fletcher briefly adverted to the progress of religious freedom since the time of the Puritans, and then noticed the labours of the Liberation Society, especially in connection with the legislature of this country. With regard to the immediate question, he said, even if the Church of Ireland were got rid of, we had still the English Church to deal with. For himself he would not have the Church of England disestablished until the large majority of the people were of that mind. (Cheers.)

The resolution was carried with acclamation. Mr. EDWARD MIALI came forward to move the next resolution, and upon presenting himself in front of the platform was received with a prolonged outburst of cheering, the whole audience rising to their feet. He said, he felt his mind too oppressed by the magnitude of the facts that had occurred within the last month to be able to give anything like adequate expression to his feelings. He was like those who, having travelled over a dusty, dreary, stony up-hill road, with very little vegetation on either side to refresh the eye or to gladden the heart for a long period, suddenly came upon the top of a ridge, and behold before him an outspread scene far exceeding all his expectations. (Cheers.) He did not know that any man who was placed in that position was capable of being voluble in his speech. Words generally failed when emotions were deep. (Hear, hear.) So with regard to this question, he should be glad to retire from the public eye, and instead of receiving compliments and hearing his name mentioned with gratifying allusions, go into solitude and commune with his own sense of responsibility, and with the greatness of the work which was still before us. He did not believe that we had entered upon a period of triumph: but we had entered upon an engagement which he had no doubt, disastrous as it might be both to ourselves and our antagonists, would yet end in victory for the truth. He had not the smallest shadow of doubt of the result. (Hear, hear.) He felt that the truth we had got hold of had already demonstrated itself to the convictions of all intelligent people as a living truth—(Hear, hear)—and there were no tricks, no dirt, no kind of opposition that could put out the living truth of God. (Cheers.) After alluding to the meeting at St. James's Hall, held that afternoon, and to what passed there, Mr. Miall said there was one thing which the chairman and other speakers had alluded to which was of the greatest moment. Mind what was going to be the character of the immediate conflict which we should have to settle at the next election. It was just a conflict between clear light and pretence and delusion. The idea would be started that this was to be a contest between religion and godliness; between establishment and no establishment; between pure Protestantism and Popery. We should have to lift up the veil and show what were the features that existed underneath it. Think of religion being under the guardianship of Benjamin Disraeli! (Hear, hear.) It would almost make one sceptical about the doctrine of the wisdom of Providence, if such an instrument were chosen for such a purpose. Pure Protestantism and spiritual Christianity taken under the charge of a sceptical disposition and atheistical tendency of mind by the Chief Minister of the Crown! Was there any man in his senses, who had the smallest intelligence and honesty in him, if he came to reflect upon the real truth of the matter, who imagined that God depended for the wonderful designs He had for the spirituality of His kingdom, upon the convenience, aye, upon the craft of a man advanced to high place not in consequence of his virtue, but chiefly in consequence of his intellectual power exercised without the smallest guidance of principle. (Loud cheers.) What! were we English sunk so low as this? Were we to cast ourselves down so low before such a man, and say, "These be thy gods, O Israel!" Had we been smitten by a spirit of blindness? And if we had been, was it not because our hearts were previously blind? Had we not long enough paid court to and followed idols that had no truth in them, and that we knew had no truth in them? Had we not done that until we had perverted our national character and demoralised all our political principles, that we had given opportunity to this man, of all men in the world, to step upon the necks of Englishmen? (Cheers.) He was ashamed and humiliated for

his country; he was ashamed and humiliated for the character of the Houses of Parliament; he was ashamed and humiliated for the constitutional principles under which politics had hitherto been governed in this country; and he had great shame and humiliation that the Crown should be subjected to an influence that would come between the Crown and the people unless it was carefully guarded against. (Hear, and cheers.) He said, from the bottom of his heart, God forbid that it should be so. They were bound to stand by the man who was opposing that method of proceeding. (Loud cheers.) It was not a question of persons, or a question of parties; it was hardly a question of principles. It was a question of national freedom and constitutional government. (Cheers.) This was the contest they had before them. It would be no holiday engagement, but a struggle severer than any which had been known since the time when Cromwell took his stand as protector to England. Our conflict was not with the Crown, nor with the constitution, nor with the legislature; it was simply with those who in their anxiety to promote their own personal and party purposes, and serve their own ambitions, were putting in peril all our precious privileges. (Loud cheers.) Mr. Miall then moved the following resolution:—

That this meeting rejoices that, in response to the strongly expressed wishes of the British people, the House of Commons has, by triumphant and repeated majorities, resolved that it is necessary that the Established Church of Ireland should cease to exist as an Establishment. That it desires to express warm admiration of the course pursued by Mr. Gladstone in seeking to bring about so important a result, and an earnest hope that the policy which he has initiated will be strenuously supported by the friends of religious equality—not only at the present time, but when the question is remitted to constituencies at the approaching general election.

Mr. MASON JONES, in seconding the resolution, said three great Liberation meetings had taken place to-day in London, but the greatest of the three was that held at St. James's Hall, where the Archbishop of Canterbury and nineteen other bishops had met to oppose Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. They had there a strange spectacle of Ritualistic and Evangelical bishops embracing each other with fraternal warmth, not over religion, but over the loaves and fishes connected with it. (Cheers.) The true policy of those prelates was one of *vis inertia*, to do nothing, to say nothing, but to allow the Liberation Society to do all the work and to have all the talking. If the Church was tugging at one side, and that Society was tugging at the other; it required no prophetic eye to see that the whole thing would shortly come down with a glorious rush. (Cheers.) As long as the bishop remained in the dignified seclusion of their sees the Society was content to let them alone, but the moment it came to be a question of discussion, of argument, of equity, of religion, and of truth, then on the dusty arena they would strike their opponents down, and say as Cromwell did, when he saw the Scotch descending from the hills at Dunbar, "The Lord has delivered them into our hands." (Applause.)

The Rev. HENRY ALLON, of Islington, proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman. He enforced upon the meeting the necessity of remembering that the battle was by no means ended, but rather was just begun. He was afraid that there were some Nonconformists, who, while generally holding the principles of the Society, would cry out "Down with the Irish Establishment," and run away. They seemed to think that if the battle was continued, some terrible revolution would take place. But let them brace themselves like men, and cease not until the victory was complete.

Mr. EDWARDS seconded the motion, which was enthusiastically agreed to, and after a brief reply from the Chairman, the proceedings terminated.

YOUNG MEN'S BREAKFAST.

On Wednesday morning a Breakfast was held at the Cannon-street Hotel, of the delegates from the Young Men's Associations throughout the country and their friends. The breakfast was given by the Young Men's Committee, of which Mr. Templeton is chairman, and Mr. William Theobald secretary. There were about one hundred and fifty present. The meeting was addressed by Mr. Templeton, who occupied the chair, Mr. J. H. Crossfield, of Manchester, Mr. Henry Lee, of Manchester, Mr. George Pearson, of Glasgow, Mr. E. Grimwade, of Ipswich, Mr. T. C. Turberville, Mr. G. Golding, of Liverpool, Rev. T. H. Adams, Mr. Edward Spicer, Mr. John Best, of Bradford, Mr. E. Miall, Mr. Wm. Edwards, and the Rev. W. Peppercorn, of Lowestoft. The addresses testified to the great value of the movement, and several suggestions were made towards its extension and more perfect organisation.

LIST OF DELEGATES.

I.—DELEGATES FROM PUBLIC BODIES.
THE BAPTIST UNION—Rev. Dr. Goch, Rev. Dr. Steane, Rev. J. H. Millard, B.A., Rev. J. H. Hinton, M.A., Rev. Chas. Stovel, Hon. and Rev. B. W. Noel, Rev. Dr. Angus, Rev. A. Murrell, Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Mr. H. M. Bompas, M.A., Mr. J. Candlish, M.P., Mr. A. A. Croll, Mr. G. B. Woolley, Mr. W. H. Bond.
THE BIBLE-CHRISTIAN CONNEXIONAL COMMITTEE—Mr. F. W. Bourne, Mr. W. Lake, Mr. J. B. Vanstone.
EAST KENT AND SUSSEX BAPTIST ASSOCIATION—Rev. B. C. Etheridge.
EAST GLAMORGAN CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION—Rev. W. Edwards, Rev. John Davies, Mr. J. D. Evans.
GLAMORGANSHIRE AND CARMARTHENSHIRE ASSOCIATION OF ENGLISH INDEPENDENT CHURCHES—Rev. J. Waite, B.A.
HAMPSHIRE CONGREGATIONAL UNION—Mr. W. O. Purchase, Rev. G. J. Proctor, Mr. Fryer, Mr. Pearce, Rev. W. M. Paull.
LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION—Rev. Dr. Landels, Rev. W. Brock, Rev. W. G. Lewis, Mr. James Harvey.
METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE COLLEGE—Rev. G. Rogers, Rev. D. Gracey.
MONTGOMERYSHIRE COUNTY COMMITTEE—Rev. D. M. Davies.
NORTH NORTHANTS ASSOCIATION OF CONGREGATIONAL AND BAPTIST MINISTERS—Rev. Thomas Arnold.
NORTHAMPTONSHIRE CONGREGATIONAL COUNTY ASSOCIATION—Mr. John Woodston, Mr. N. Pierce Sharman.
PONTYPOOL BAPTIST COLLEGE—Mr. J. H. Thomas.
SOUTHERN ASSOCIATION OF BAPTIST MINISTERS—Rev. C. Williams, Rev. J. B. Birt.
SURREY CONGREGATIONAL UNION—Mr. Thomas Simpson, Mr. J. W. Buckley, Rev. P. H. Davison, Mr. G. Long.
SOUTH WALES LIBERATION COMMITTEE—Rev. D. M. Davies, Mr. S. Powell, Mr. John Norton, Mr. C. R. Jones.
WEST RIDING CONGREGATIONAL UNION—Rev. S. Oddie, Rev. William Thomas, Mr. Edward Butler, Mr. William Binn, Rev. J. H. Morgan.

WORCESTERSHIRE BAPTIST ASSOCIATION—Mr. Warrington, Mr. H. Bamford.
WELSH CONGREGATIONAL ASSOCIATION—Rev. W. P. Davies.

YOUNG MEN'S COMMITTEE—Mr. W. Theobald, Mr. J. F. Bottomley, Mr. E. W. Jones, Mr. M. M'Kieken.

II.—LONDON AND SUBURBS.

ACTON—Rev. John Kidd.
ANERLEY—Mr. William Charlton.
BETHNAL-GREEN CHURCH—Rev. I. V. Mummery.
BLOOMSBURY CHURCH—Mr. Kinnear, Mr. J. P. Price.
BROMPTON—Rev. C. Winter, Mr. Hale.
BOW—Rev. J. H. Blake, Mr. W. Smellie, Mr. H. D. Jeffries.

BERMONDSEY—Rev. John Sinclair.
BORO' ROAD—Rev. James Harcourt, Rev. G. M. Murphy.
CAMBERWELL—Mr. George Turney, Mr. Travers Buxton, Mr. F. Allport, Mr. B. Dixie, Rev. Isaac Dorey, Rev. John Pillans, Mr. William Edwards, Mr. E. Stow, Mr. J. P. Alder, Mr. G. Pedley, Mr. Colla, Mr. H. Colla, Mr. Dick Doble.

CHIGWELL-ROW—Rev. F. Neller, Mr. William Nathan.
CINDERFORD—Rev. Wm. Collings.
CITY-ROAD CHURCH—Mr. Edwin Simmonds.
COMMERCIAL-ROAD CHAPEL—Rev. C. Stovel, Mr. G. Gowland.

CAMDEN-ROAD CHAPEL—Mr. John Edwards.
DALSTON—Rev. William Miall, Mr. Olding.
DEVONSHIRE-SQUARE CHURCH—Rev. W. T. Henderson, Mr. J. Nicholson.

JOHN-STREET, EDGEWARE-ROAD—Mr. John Neal.
GREENWICH—Rev. E. Dennett, Rev. B. Davies.
GOSPEL-OAK CHAPEL—Rev. E. H. Smith.
HENDON—Rev. T. Fison, B.A., Mr. Morell Theobald, Mr. John Smart.

HAMPSTEAD—Rev. John Webb, Mr. George P. Coles.
HIGHGATE—Rev. J. H. Barnard.
HACKNEY—Mr. G. W. James, Rev. J. Russell, Mr. G. H. Williams, Mr. John Howard, Mr. Thomas Kelsey, Mr. Frank Devitt, Mr. Samuel Underhill, Mr. John Rains, Mr. George Brown.

HAVERSTOCK-HILL—Rev. John Nunn.
ISLINGTON—Mr. A. Vernon, Rev. C. Ballhache, Mr. A. H. Haggis, Mr. J. Bayne, Mr. William Westley, Mr. George Antill, Rev. P. Gast.

KILBURN—Rev. J. C. Gallaway, M.A., Mr. Collard, Mr. Thomas, Mr. Dolleymore.
KENSINGTON—Rev. J. Marchant.
KINGSLAND—Mr. J. Clarke, Mr. O. Latham.
KINGSGATE CHURCH—Rev. W. Burton.

LANCASTER-HILL—Mr. S. Hicks.
LEE—Rev. B. H. Marten, B.A., Mr. John Grant, Mr. John Bennett, Mr. Samuel Jennings, Rev. B. B. Wale, Mr. George Buckingham.

MERTON—Rev. Robert Davies.
MARLBOROUGH CHAPEL—Mr. C. Hollingsworth, Mr. Isaac Taylor, Rev. W. A. Esery.
MANION-HOUSE CHAPEL—Mr. W. B. Cummin.
METROPOLITAN TABERNACLE—Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Rev. J. A. Spurgeon, Mr. W. Olney, Rev. J. T. Wigner, Mr. Charles Blackshaw.

MILTON HALL—Mr. Walter Pitcher, Mr. Sadbrook.
NOTTING-HILL—Mr. Henry Varley, Mr. C. Barber.
ORANGE-STREET CHAPEL—Rev. R. G. Forsaith, Mr. J. Theobald.

PLAISTOW—Rev. John Foster, Rev. John Curwen, Mr. F. Fuller, Mr. R. Griffiths, Mr. J. S. Curwen.
PADDINGTON—Mr. J. P. Dexter, Mr. J. M. Stubbs, Mr. William Morgan, Mr. W. O. Bennett, Mr. J. Clifford, Rev. G. D. Macgregor.

PECKHAM—Rev. R. W. Betts, Mr. J. Broomhall, Mr. A. Marshall, Rev. T. J. Cole, Mr. Henry Potter.
RICHMOND—Rev. G. S. Ingram, Mr. G. F. Whiteley.
REGENT'S PARK CHAPEL—Mr. Cooke Baines.

ST. JOHN'S WOOD—Mr. Stott, Mr. J. C. Bowser.
STEPNEY METTING—Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., Mr. T. Stratton.

TWICKENHAM—Rev. W. Freeman.
TONBRIDGE CHAPEL—Rev. D. Jeavons, Mr. Powell, Mr. H. A. Glass.

TOLMER'S SQUARE CHURCH—Rev. H. Simon, Mr. Geo. Crow.
UPPER HOLLOWAY—Rev. S. H. Booth, Mr. G. Thomas, Mr. W. Goodacre.

WALWORTH CHURCH—Rev. P. J. Turquand.
WEIGH HOUSE CHAPEL—Rev. D. Bevan, LL.B., Mr. Henry Mason.

WOOLWICH—Mr. Wm. Topley, Mr. George Arnold, Mr. Wm. Davis, Mr. B. Wates, Mr. Josiah Barrat, Mr. Joseph Wates, Parsons Hill, Rev. W. Wood, Mr. W. Butcher.
WALTHAMSTOW—Mr. Ebenezer Clarke, Mr. J. Bacon, Rev. W. S. H. Fielden.

WATERLOO STREET CHURCH—Mr. G. Soudamore.
WOODFORD—Mr. John Kaye, Mr. T. H. Harris.

III.—DELEGATES FROM THE COUNTRY.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE—Rev. E. Minton, Rev. T. Green, Mr. Nath. Buckley, Rev. Jno. Hutchinson, Rev. Alex. Cran, M.A.
ALLOA—Mr. John Kidd, Mr. And. Leslie, Mr. James McWilliam.

ASHWELL, BERKS—Mr. Jno. Reynolds.
ATHERSTONE—Rev. W. Paton, Mr. W. Sale.
ABERDEN—Rev. John Kennedy, M.A., Rev. J. McKerrrow.

ALTON—Rev. F. Holmes.
ABERYSTWYTH—Mr. Rd. Roberts, Mr. C. Matthews.
BRAMPTON, HUNTS—Rev. L. Llewellyn, Mr. W. Woolston-holmes, Mr. Abm. Booth.

BUCKDEN—Mr. George Bradbury, Mr. Thomas Clarke, Mr. W. Mann.
BRIDPORT—Rev. R. L. Carpenter, Rev. J. Rogers.
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BEDFORD—Mr. John Usher, Mr. George Carruthers.
BRADFORD—Mr. Robert Kell, Mr. Angus Holden, Mr. James Law (Mayor), Alderman E. West, Mr. Jas. Hanson, Mr. W. Byles, Mr. Elias Thomas, Mr. S. Watmuff, Mr. Calvin Robertshaw, Young Men's Conference, Mr. Titus Salt, jun., Mr. Arthur Briggs, Mr. F. Priestman, Mr. J. G. Best, Mr. Richard Taylor, Trinity Chapel, Rev. J. S. Anderson, Mr. W. Moulson, Mr. W. Watson, Mr. P. Watson, Hallfield Chapel, Rev. John Makepeace, Mr. George Osborn, Mr. John Cooke, Mr. Jos. Foster, Mr. Briggs Priestley, Mr. Alfred Wilkinson, Mr. W. C. Ferrand, Baptist Chapel, Westgate, Mr. David Abercrombie, Mr. A. Illingworth, Mr. Benjamin Smith, Mr. J. W. Illingworth, Mr. J. R. Birken-shaw, Mr. W. Whitehead, Baptist Church, Mr. W. Head, Mr. John Cole, Mr. James Cole, Mr. W. Cannon, Mr. Thomas Stephenson, Rev. Josiah Andrews.

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BRIXHAM—Mr. Thomas Lakeman, Mr. Sidney Cookerell.
BRIDGNORTH—Rev. T. Jones.

BUXTON, NORFOLK—Mr. J. Gambling.
BOURNEMOUTH—Rev. John Hurry, Mr. James McWilliam, Mr. H. C. Cox, Mr. John Miles.
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BLISWORTH—Mr. Jos. Westley, Mr. John Campion.
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BATLEY—Mr. John Taylor.

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COLLINGHAM—Rev. C. Neville, M.A.

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CLIPSTON—Mr. R. Kirkman.
CHESTER—Mr. W. H. Aubrey.

CHINNOR—Mr. John Humphreys.
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CINDERFORD—Rev. F. Pres.
CARLISLE—Rev. Mark Wilks, Mr. Ebenezer Franks.
DEDDINGTON—Rev. Thomas Lord.
DOCHESTER—Mr. W. Vernon.

DAYENTRY—Rev. Thomas Adams, Mr. E. A. Briggs.
DEVONPORT—Rev. Dr. Stock.
DERBY—Rev. W. Griffith, Rev. J. Stevenson, Mr. S. Whitaker.

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DONCASTER—Mr. Arthur Miall.
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DAWLISH—Rev. F. Wagstaff.
DEAL—Mr. J. T. Bartram.
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GODMANCHESTER—Mr. H. Fives.

GUILDFORD—Mr. Albert Goodman.
GLOUCESTER—Mr. Thomas Collings.
GOTTRE, MERTHYR—Mr. Thomas Williams.
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HAWICK—Mr. William Irvine.

HANLEY—Mr. Thomas Piddock.
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HORNCASTLE—Mr. Thomas Briggs, Mr. C. F. Jefferies.

HUNTINGDON—Rev. J. H. Millard, B.A., Mr. Bateman Brown, Mr. James Dear, Junior, Mr. Thomas Hunter, Mr. W. S. Baker.

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HITCHIN—Mr. David Lloyd, Mr. Alfred Ransom.
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KESLO—Rev. George Robson, M.A.

KINGTHORPE—Mr. William James.
KIDDERMINSTER—Mr. J. Naylor, Mr. George Turton.
KEIGHLEY—Rev. Thomas Pottinger.

KELVEDON—Mr. William Peck.
LIVERPOOL—Rev. H. S. Brown, Rev. J. Shillito, Mr. John Baxter, Mr. S. B. Jackson, Mr. W. Medley, Mr. R. Johnson, Mr. R. C. Carter, Mr. W. Crossfield, Junior, Rev. R. H. Roberts, B.A., Mr. Ed. Mounsey, Mr. G. Goulding, Mr. C. E. Rawlins, Mr. Owen Williams, Congregational Chapel, Rev. John Thomas, Rev. Henry Rees.

LLANELLY—Rev. J. R. Morgan, Rev. D. M. Evans, Mr. W. Rowler.
LLANBRYNMAIR—Rev. C. Evans, Mr. J. Griffiths.

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OXFORD—Mr. H. Hatch.

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OLDHAM—Mr. James Fletcher, Mr. R. Butcher.

PAISLEY—Rev. G. O. Hutton, Mr. Thomas Coats.
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PONTYPOOL—Mr. James Sully, B.A.

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SWANSEA—Rev. Dr. Rose, Rev. E. Griffiths, Rev. F. Samuel.

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SOUTHPORT—Rev. John Chater, Mr. W. Hinners, Mr. Samuel Boothroyd.

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STAPLEHURST—Mr. William Jell.
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SHEPTON-MALLIST—Mr. John Gail.

SOUTH SHIELDS—Mr. William James.
SHEFFIELD—Mr. C. Castle, Mr. Robert Leader.
ST. AUSTELL—Rev. W. M. Beaby.

SUNDBELAND—Mr. J. Candlish, M.P., Mr. A. Wardropper.
Mr. Thomas Steel, Mr. A. Common.
SHREWSBURY—Rev. H. Wooding, B.A.

ST. PETERS—Mr. James Crofts.
STOKES—Mr. E. F. Bodley.
SALFORD, BEDS.—Mr. John Wilson.

SNODLAND—Mr. C. I. Hook.
STOWMARKET—Mr. Manning Prentice.

SITTINGBOURNE—Mr. S. Whibley, Mr. John Filmer.
STANWICK—Rev. J. Jenkinson.

ST. MARY ORAY—Mr. J. P. Sanger, Mr. O. Hooper.
SYDENHAM—Mr. Digby, Mr. Raff.
THAME—Mr. S. J. Johnson, Rev. D. W. Purdon.

THERFIELD—Rev. D. Davies, B.A., Mr. Josiah Reynolds, Mr. F. W. Lillip.
TONBRIDGE—Rev. John Turner.

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WORCESTER—Mr. George Grove, Mr. Edw. Price, Mr. Thomas Westcombe, Mr. Wilson Burgess.

WOLVERHAMPTON—Rev. T. G. Horton, Rev. W. H. Charlesworth, Mr. S. S. Mander, Mr. Thomas Sankook, Mr. S. Dickinson, Mr. H. J. Wharton.

WHITLESSEA—Mr. D. Ashby.
WITHAM—Mr. George Thomasin, Mr. Alfred Sayer, Mr. R. W. Dixon.

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WEATHERSFIELD—Mr. J. W. Raven, Mr. W. Fitch, Mr. Charles Fitch.

WRITTSLE—Rev. J. B. Law.
WREXHAM—Rev. J. B. Brown, Mr. J. B. Minshall.

WISBEACH—Mr. Robert Wherry, Mr. G. Dawbarn, Mr. B. Dawbarn.

WEYMOUTH—Rev. B. Ashton.
WOODHAM-FERRIS—Rev. D. Attack, Mr. Thomas Main.

WORTHING—Rev. W. Bean, Rev. J. F. Foulter.
WELLINGBOROUGH—Rev. W. J. Bain.

WESTON TREVILLE—Mr. A. F. Scrivener, Mr. R. Manger.
WARWICK—Mr. Spence.

WAKEFIELD—Mr. W. H. Lee (Mayor), Rev. J. P. Eastwood.
WINSFORD—Rev. T. Bailey.

WATTON—Mr. J. E. Alexander.
YORK—Rev. J. F. Smythe, Councillor B. Wales.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

THE REFORM LEAGUE.—Mr. Edmond Beales has addressed a letter to the Irish Reform League, in which he assures the Irish brethren and friends that in case of there arising any material opposition to the complete settlement of the Irish Church question "on the true basis of perfect religious liberty and equality," the English Reform League "will be prepared to combat that opposition with all its heart and strength."

EASTBOURNE.—A crowded meeting was held at Eastbourne on Friday evening, to consider Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. The chair was occupied by Mr. F. H. Cavendish. At the close of a lengthened address by the Rev. N. T. Langridge, of London, a resolution in favour of the disestablishment of the Irish Church was proposed, and to this an amendment was moved condemning Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. Mr. G. F. Chambers moved the amendment, and the Rev. W. H. Lloyd, incumbent of Christ Church, seconded it. After a brief reply from Mr. Langridge, the original resolution was carried by an overwhelming majority. Enthusiastic cheers were given for Mr. Gladstone at the close of the meeting.

LEEK, STAFFORDSHIRE.—On Friday night a meeting, attended by about 2,000 people, was held at Leek, Staffordshire, for the purpose of supporting Mr. Gladstone's resolutions. An amendment being moved by the Vicar of Leek, a fight ensued, the platform was taken possession of, and the chairman, speakers, and reporters had to beat a retreat. For half an hour over one hundred men were fighting like mad.

men. In the *mêlée* one man, named Bowers, was struck over the temple with a heavy stick. The platform was bespattered with the blood from the wound. Amidst the uproar a petition to Parliament in favour of the resolutions was adopted.

COLCHESTER.—A crowded meeting was held in the Theatre Royal, Colchester, on Thursday evening, for the purpose of expressing approval of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions respecting the Irish Church. There were at least two thousand persons present. Dr. Brewer presided, and a letter from Mr. Gurdon Rebow was read, expressing approval of the object of the meeting. Mr. Mason Jones delivered a long address, and at its conclusion a petition to Parliament praying for the adoption of the resolutions was adopted.

WALES.—Well-attended meetings in favour of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions have been held in Aberaman, Aberdare, Merthyr, and other Welsh towns.

PLYMOUTH.—A meeting, convened to protest against the disestablishment of the Irish Church, was held at Plymouth on Thursday night. The opposition got possession of the room in large numbers. The Rev. Mr. Freckleton, Unitarian minister, obtained permission to speak after those who had been announced in advertisements to do so; but he was subsequently put down, when an immense uproar ensued—chairs and tables were broken, and the police called in. There were personal conflicts on the platform. Some clergymen supported and others opposed. Ultimately Mr. Freckleton was heard, and a resolution for disestablishment was carried by a large majority; and cheers were given for Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. The meeting lasted over four hours.

BRADFORD.—A town's meeting, called by the Mayor of the borough, in compliance with a requisition, was held on Tuesday in St. George's Hall, Bradford, to consider the Irish Church question. Resolutions were enthusiastically adopted denouncing the Irish Establishment, and expressing approval of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, and a petition to Parliament embodying the views of the meeting was also passed.

THE IRISH PRESBYTERIANS.—The Presbyterian Synod of Dublin, which had been "overtured" by the Presbytery to express its opinion upon the question of endowments, has adopted four resolutions defining the position of the Irish Presbyterian body. In the fourth they declare their conviction, "in the present momentous crisis, when some of our most eminent statesmen have publicly expressed themselves in favour of a scheme for securing religious equality by the general endowment of religious denominations in Ireland, that such a course is wrong in principle, and that it must prove pernicious in its results." The General Assembly will shortly meet at Belfast.

THE PULPIT DRUM ECCLESIASTIC.—A "private and confidential" circular has been addressed by the honorary secretary of the United Protestant Defence Committee to the clergy of the English Church, who are requested to look upon the crisis in a religious rather than a political light, and to "resist by all means in their power the attempt to destroy the Established Church in Ireland, as the first step towards abolishing the connection between Church and State in Great Britain."

THE IRISH CLERGY AND THE OSTRICH.—The Archbishop of Dublin, acting as chairman at a meeting of a Clergy Life Assurance Aid Society in his diocese, rebuked those persons who appeared to think that the condition of things at present rendered it an unsuitable time for the formation of such a society. They ought to go on as if there were no danger; and, above all things, shun the assumption that defeat was before them. The recommendation is probably derived from the well-known example of the ostrich.—*Star*.

OTHER MEETINGS in support of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions have been held within the last few days at Blackburn, Great Yarmouth, Great Missenden, Marsey, Hampton, Leicester, Mossley, Newchurch, and other places. At Leicester a resolution was passed expressive of indignation at the "unconstitutional advice of Lord Derby to the present administration to disregard the opinions of a large majority of the House of Commons and the political sentiments of the nation, and considers the retention of office by the administration under present circumstances alike unwarrantable and offensive to the country."

THE PROTESTANT DISSENTING MINISTRY.—A special meeting of the General Body of Protestant Dissenting Ministers of the Three Denominations, was held in the London Mission House on Monday, 4th May, at 1 p.m., numerously attended, when the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:—

1. That they regard with great satisfaction the introduction to Parliament of the resolutions submitted by Mr. Gladstone to the House of Commons; rejoice in the support given to them by majorities rarely attained in Parliamentary divisions on great questions, and express their hope that the attitude and determination thus taken by the House may be firmly maintained in further discussions and decisions on the subject.

2. That in the opinion of this body nothing short of the disestablishment and disendowment of the Irish Church will meet the claims of justice, or allay the dissatisfaction of the country with an institution which, while favouring the few, wrongs and insults the many.

3. That the disestablishment of the Irish Episcopal Church ought to be accompanied by the withdrawal of all State aid to other denominations, including the Grant to Maynooth College, and the "Regium Donum," as it is commonly called, annually voted to the Presbyterians.

4. That the revenues and properties set free by the disendowment of the Established Church in Ireland, all vested interests being equitably reserved, ought to be appropriated to national purposes, such as may benefit without distinction of religious sect the entire community.

5. That the proposal to found and endow a Roman

Catholic University is altogether objectionable, as interfering with the unsectarian scheme of education which has wrought so beneficially in Ireland, and as creating a new denominational institution receiving support from the State.

6. That this body firmly believe that the policy indicated in the foregoing resolutions, instead of being adverse to the interests of Protestantism, would decidedly strengthen and promote them, by developing the spontaneous liberality of Episcopalians and others in behalf of their own institutions, by removing one great cause of the hostility of Roman Catholics to evangelical truth, and by allowing the Protestant faith to have full scope for its energies, in consequence of the religious equality which will then obtain among all denominations.

A TORY VIEW OF MR. GLADSTONE'S SPEECH.

(From the *Standard*.)

Mr. Gladstone on Thursday night struck at the very root of all Establishments in this kingdom when he declared that that of Ireland has not been maintained for "religious purposes," or "on the high ground of religious truth." The Irish Church is established because it is the Protestant Church, and, apart from its character as such, it has no claim whatever to the favour of the State. On Mr. Gladstone's theory, it is the Roman Catholic, and not the Protestant, Church which ought to be established in Ireland, and the moment the adherents of the English Church are in a minority, he would logically be bound to put the rule in force here also. Will it be said that we are placing an unfair construction upon the language of the Opposition leader? What other meaning can fairly be assigned to his declaration—"We claim to be in a spontaneous concurrence with that party, all over the world, by whatever name it may be called, which in any country is endeavouring to break down the system of religious ascendancy"? We have never charged Mr. Gladstone with larger aims than these. Our complaint has been that in his attack upon the Irish Church he has uniformly repudiated them. His frankness on Thursday, tardy as it is, no longer exposes him to this taunt. When he professes himself eager to break down the system of "religious ascendancy," he makes a clean breast of it. "Religious ascendancy" is the first condition of an Establishment. The very fact of a Church being established involves its ascendancy. The Established Church of Ireland is in a position of ascendancy as regards all other religions around it, and it is the same with the Churches of England and Scotland. It would be puerile in a great statesman who declares war against "religious ascendancy" in the abstract, and who commences the attack in the case of Ireland, to pretend to draw the line at England and Scotland. This is what Mr. Gladstone did up to Thursday, and we taxed him with disingenuousness. He has now avowed the full scope of his policy, and we invite public attention to the fact. *Habemus confitentem reum*. Those who care to preserve the "religious ascendancy" of the English and Scotch Churches will do well to bestir themselves ere it is too late. The latter are all in the same boat with the doomed Church of Ireland. They may not be weak, corrupt, or inefficient, but they hold a position of "ascendancy," and are therefore parts of the system which Mr. Gladstone regards it as his mission to "break down."

Far from disguising his intentions in regard to the Church of England, Mr. Gladstone seems anxious to warn her friends beforehand, and so to soften the blow. It is true he says that "the question of the Church of England is remote," but have our readers never met with a similar assurance from Mr. Gladstone in the case of another religious corporation? "The question of the Establishment of Ireland," he wrote to Dr. Hannah in 1865, "is remote." The language is identical, and we must frankly express our conviction that the pledge implied in the case of the English Establishment will be quite as faithfully redeemed as it has been in the case of Ireland. The member for South Lancashire is also good enough to assure us that "the national foundation of the English Church is quite sufficiently made good on all those points that go to justify a National Establishment." Nevertheless, while offering us these crumbs of comfort for the moment, the right hon. gentleman permits us to understand that his mind is quite made up as to the ultimate fate of the English Establishment. He begins by inviting Churchmen to admire the friendly spirit and moderation of Mr. Edward Miall. He protests that gentleman is prepared to go "to an extraordinary length of liberality in his plan for the disestablishment of the English Church." Really, says the leader of the Liberal party, if the Church is to be allowed to go free with her revenues, "you would have a good start in the world." He then gently deprecates the needless excitement of those "who contemplate the voluntary system with feelings of alarm," and thereby "raise most disparaging influences as to the moral effects" of the policy he contemplates. He next points out that the people who make these manifestations "are a fair sample of what an Establishment produces," and that its result is "to emasculate the mind of those who are connected with bodies receiving privileges from the State, and to deprive such bodies of those better energies which were their own original and indestructible inheritance." Having thus exhibited the loveliness of the voluntary system, he proceeds to apply the moral for the benefit of English Churchmen. He declares that "exigencies" may arise in their

Church "which can only be satisfied by the exertion of her voluntary energies," and immediately goes on to condemn the unwisdom which would prompt any resistance to such a measure. . . . Mr. Gladstone's speech possesses exactly the same kind of significance for English Churchmen as that which attaches to his famous diatribe against the Irish Church in 1865, and we are afraid that no amount of letters to Dr. Hannah will avail to explain it away. "Once caught, twice shy," will be the motto of those Churchmen who are implored to believe in their Gladstone yet a little while longer. "The question of the Irish Church is remote," he said in 1865, and we know how it stands to-day. "The question of the English Church is remote," he said on Thursday night. They must indeed be hopelessly blind who cannot draw the inference.

MR. MAURICE ON THE UNIVERSITY TESTS QUESTION.

The Rev. F. D. Maurice sends the following interesting letter to the *Spectator*:—

I used to think that the University of Oxford was right in requiring subscription to the thirty-nine articles on this ground:—It seemed to me a fair acknowledgment by the teachers, of the terms on which they intended to teach, an acceptance of those terms by the learners. It assumed that the pupils had passed the stage of unquestioning childhood, and were entering upon a course of manly study. It assumed that they were, as every one acquainted with either University knew that they were, exposed to all the controversies of the day, ready to plunge into them all, liable to many confusions and superstitions, and needing the kind of help and direction which men like the Reformers, who had been overwhelmed by those confusions and superstitions, felt that they wanted for themselves.

My plea for these articles was, therefore, exactly the opposite to that which the Bishop of Oxford puts forward for the exclusion of Dissenters from our colleges. He supposes that those who frequent the colleges are to be treated as children. I thought the only defence of leading them to examine the articles was that they were to be treated as men. He supposes that they never hear of controversies, and care nothing for them. The articles are only for those who do hear of them and care for them. The bishop's speech, therefore, is a more direct attack upon the old policy of the Universities than upon Mr. Coleridge's bill.

The last thirty years has shown me that I was utterly wrong in attaching this meaning to modern subscription which seems to me involved in the principle of it. The articles have not been given or accepted in what strikes some as their natural sense. It has been avowed that they were given to restrain inquiry, not to cultivate and direct inquiry. It has been avowed that the receiver has felt them as a bondage which he was by some means, fair or foul, to shake off. My only plea for them, therefore, is worth nothing; no one has so utterly disclaimed it as the Bishop of Oxford.

It always appeared to me that the exclusion of Dissenters was only justifiable in so far as it was the inevitable accident of a principle of teaching that was desirable on other grounds. If that principle has been abandoned, if the bishops have taken away the only excuse for it, the exclusion is simply a confession of weakness, a denial that the University was meant for the nation, the expression of a cowardly dread lest a faith we proclaim to be founded on a rock should be shattered by the arguments of a few objectors.

I cannot, however, accept for myself a compliment which is sometimes paid to those who support measures like those of Mr. Coleridge. It is said that they have submitted to the "spirit of the age." I have abandoned many prepossessions and conclusions which I once cherished. I do not own that it is the spirit of the age which has exacted that surrender from me. I feel that this spirit is one with which, as a man, I am continually bound to contend, against which, as a clergyman and a moral teacher, I am bound to warn others. It seems to me that if I become its servant I must stoop to the worship of mammon and of success, and wear the livery of some political or religious faction. The spirit of the age enthroned in a University would prohibit the cultivation of high principles and the advancement of sound knowledge.

In maintaining that external restraints upon the intercourse of men who hold different opinions are vain, that we cannot be kept in the faith by binding ourselves to certain professions respecting it, I am submitting not to the spirit of the age, but to the Spirit of God. I dare not resist the evidence which pours in from all sides that the exclusions fail to make any men true, that they tempt numbers to be false. I dare not deny that we have disbelieved in the presence and power of the Spirit who has been promised to guide us into all truth, that we have practically confessed the spirit of falsehood to be the stronger. I hold that not the craft of statesmen but the wisdom of God is obliging us to give up contrivances which look very plausible to our worldly judgments, on which we suppose that the very safety of our souls depends, but which, in His eyes, are foolishness, yes, positive hindrances to the entrance of His light into our hearts and minds.

This may sound strange language to import into a political discussion. But as it is the only language which expresses my convictions I must resort to it. I apply it especially to the subject of education, in which I am most interested. But I venture to add that whenever in trade or in any department of human activity, restrictions tending to the advantage of one class and the injury of others have been removed, there a divine power has been at work counteracting not only the selfish calculations, but often the apparently sagacious reasonings of their defenders. It is often said that we have passed through the theological stage of thought, and have entered upon the positive. It may be found that the positive stage is also of necessity the theological; that where men are most directly conversant with facts, they are most compelled to recognise a battle between spirits of good and evil, and to engage in it.

Mr. Coleridge's bill comes on for second reading at next Wednesday's day-sitting of the House of Commons.

THE ROYAL COMMISSION ON RITUALISM.

The second report of the Royal Commission on Ritualism has just been presented to the Queen. The Commissioners say that although there have been candlesticks, with candles, on "the Lord's table" during a long period in many cathedrals and collegiate churches and chapels, and also in the chapels of some colleges, and of some royal and episcopal residences, the instances that have been adduced to prove that candles have been lighted as accessories to the Holy Communion are few and much contested; but no sufficient evidence has been adduced to prove that at any time during the last three centuries have lighted candles been used in parish churches, as accessories to the celebration of the Holy Communion, until within the last twenty-five years. The use of incense, too, in the public services of the Church during the present century is very recent, and the instances of its introduction very rare; and so far as the Commissioners have any evidence before them, it is at variance with the Church's usage for 300 years. They are, therefore, of opinion that it is expedient to restrain in the public services of the Church all variations from established usages in respect of lighted candles and of incense.

The "speedy and inexpensive remedy" which the Commissioners suggest should be provided for parishioners aggrieved by the introduction of incense and candles is as follows:—

First, that whenever it shall be found necessary that order be taken concerning the same, the usage of the Church of England and Ireland as above stated to have prevailed for the last 300 years, shall be deemed to be the rule of the Church in respect of vestments, lights, and incense; and, secondly, that parishioners may make formal application to the bishops *in camera*, and the bishop, on such application, shall be bound to inquire into the matter of the complaint; and if it shall thereby appear that there has been a variation from established usage, by the introduction of vestments, lights, or incense in the public services of the Church, he shall take order forthwith for the discontinuance of such variation, and be enabled to enforce the same summarily.

The Commissioners also think that the determination of the bishop on such application "should be subject to appeal to the archbishop of the province *in camera*, whose decision thereon shall be final; provided always that, if it should appear to either party that the decision of the bishop or archbishop is open to question on any legal ground, a case may be stated by the party dissatisfied, to be certified by the bishop or archbishop as correct, and then submitted by the said party for the decision of the court of the archbishop without pleading or evidence, with a right to appeal to the Privy Council, and with power for the court, if the statement of the case should appear to be in any way defective, to refer back such cases to the bishop or archbishop for amendment."

Precautions are suggested to prevent "frivolous applications" from being brought before the bishop. The Commissioners intimate that their attention in making these recommendations is simply to provide a special facility for restraining variations from established usage, without interfering with the general law of the Church as to ornaments or the ordinary remedies now in force.

The recommendations of the Commissioners with respect to the rubrics, orders, and directions contained in the Prayer-book will form the subject of the next report.

Six of the Commissioners do not sign the report; four of them do so, objecting to its practical recommendation; and among the names of these ten dissentients are those of the Bishop of Oxford, the Deans of Westminster and Ely, Mr. J. D. Coleridge, Mr. Hubbard, Sir R. Phillimore, and Mr. Beresford Hope—a representation of the clergy and laity in their most vigorous constituents and completest freedom.

The *Globe* says it is probable that the Rev. F. K. Leighton, D.D., of All Souls', Oxford, will be offered the vacant Bishopric of Hereford.

CHURCH-RATE IN WALES.—An attempt to levy a Church-rate in aid of the restoration of the parish church at Llantrissant was defeated a few days ago by an overwhelming majority.

THE CHURCH-RATE QUESTION AT GREAT BERKHAMSTEAD.—The parish churchwarden of last year, W. Longman, Esq., has this year accepted the nomination of the rector as his churchwarden; and the Rev. F. B. Harvey, his late colleague, the leading spirit in the notorious Church-rate exactions of last year, at Berkhamstead, having signified his wish to retire, has been succeeded by Lieutenant-Colonel A. Smith Dorrien, as parish churchwarden. In the present unsettled state of affairs, the gallant colonel stated that he should make the collections of the funds he should require in a way that would be agreeable to all ratepayers.

PROTESTANT BOGIES.—A Welsh paper, writing on the Irish question, warns the Protestant Dissenters of the Principality that "if we surrender our Protestantism, we may rest assured that our civil and religious liberties will follow in its wake, for no nation can be socially or politically free which gives up its conscience to a priesthood." The writer forgets that Dissenters surrender nothing in the disestablishment of a State Church. Their Protestantism is voluntary and spontaneous, not forced by acts of Parliament. They may fear priesthoods in all Establishments, but they do not fear the loss of civil and religious liberty to the land from disestablishment. John Elias once told an Oswestry audience that when the Catholic Emancipation Act was passed, they might expect to see Protestants burnt on the Bailey Head. No such exhibition has taken place yet, and Dissenters have

grown wiser since John Elias's day. They are not to be frightened with bogies now.—*Oswestry Advertiser*.

Religious and Denominational News.

It is Dean Alford and not Dean Stanley who will preside at the Cheshunt College dinner.

The Rev. Dr. Edmond, of Highbury, has been appointed secretary of the ministers of the Three Denominations for the ensuing three years.

The Rev. Dr. McCosh, one of the Queen's College professors, has, without any application on his part, been unanimously elected President of Princeton University, United States, and has just received a telegram announcing the fact.

SOUTHWOLD, SUFFOLK.—The Congregational Chapel in this pretty watering place, of which the Rev. C. W. Wilson is the pastor, has been reopened after considerable repairs. Sermons were preached by the Rev. Eliezer Jones, of Ipswich, and a public meeting was held, presided over by E. Grimwade, Esq. Addresses were delivered by various ministers and gentlemen. The sum of 118*l.* was realised from the collections and subscriptions.

MR. C. H. SPURGEON will be presented with 1,200*l.* as a token of affection, and the memorial stones of two more houses for ministers' orphans—to the erection of which he has devoted the gift—will be laid on the Stockwell Orphanage grounds on Whit-Monday. Three weeks after the first stones of two more houses will be laid—one subscribed for by Sabbath-school children, the other by the students of the Pastor's College—and a *fete* in honour of Mr. Spurgeon's birthday (18th June) be held on the same spot.—*South London Press*.

MOLD-GREEN.—Opening services in connection with the new Congregational chapel, Mold-green, have lately been held. Accommodation is provided for 523 adults and 112 children. With the galleries complete, the chapel would hold 711 adults and 112 children; total, 823 persons. The schools and class rooms will accommodate about 450 children. The cost of the buildings, school fittings, lighting, warming, &c., has been 23,100*l.* and the total cost of the undertaking, including land, street-forming, architects, clerk of the works, &c., 23,886*l.* The preachers on the occasion were Revs. W. Braden, R. Skinner, and Enoch Mellor.

RECOGNITION SERVICES.—We have received accounts, which we have space only to mention, of services in connection with the settlement of the Rev. Mr. Hutchin as pastor of the Congregational Church, Lenham, Kent; of the Rev. James Webb, as pastor of the Mission Church, Hemaley, Norfolk; of the Rev. F. Knowles, as minister of the Congregational Church, Belper; and of the Rev. A. Warner, as pastor of Whitefield Chapel, Long Acre. On the last occasion a number of London ministers were present at a crowded and interesting meeting.

THE ENGLISH PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH has just been holding its annual session at Sunderland; the Rev. Mr. Reid being the Moderator of the year. It is remarked that the death of Dr. James Hamilton cast a gloom over the proceedings. Touching tributes were paid to his memory. The subject which excited most feeling and occupied most time was the election of a new professor to succeed Dr. McCrie in the College of the Church. After a prolonged discussion, 111 votes were recorded in favour of Dr. Chalmers, of London, and 64 for delaying the appointment.

BOLTON.—A bazaar held in aid of the funds for the rebuilding and enlargement of Maudsley-street Chapel, Bolton, has yielded the handsome sum of 1,480*l.* It was held in the Temperance Hall, and opened by Thomas Barnes. The estimated cost of the new edifice is from 5,000*l.* to 6,000*l.*, towards which (exclusive of the above bazaar receipts) 3,000*l.* has already been promised by the congregation, and the pastor, the Rev. Robert Best, promised to raise 1,000*l.* by obtaining subscriptions outside the congregation, and his endeavours in this respect have so far been eminently successful.

BLYTH.—On Thursday last the foundation-stone of a new Congregational Church was laid at Blyth by Mr. Joseph Mather, of Newcastle, in the presence of a large number of ministers and friends connected with that religious denomination. The Rev. Thomas Clifton is the pastor. This new building will at first possess accommodation for 420 persons, and a gallery will, when required, be erected, capable of holding 200 in addition. The estimated cost is about 1,600*l.*, the whole of which has not yet been raised. At the laying of this stone the Rev. Mr. Stewart delivered an address setting forth the principles of Congregationalism, and the various things which they testified by that day's ceremony. Subsequently some 600 persons took tea together at the Central Hall, and various addresses were delivered.

M. GUIZOT ON THE BIBLE SOCIETY.—M. Guizot has presided this year as usual at the anniversary (the fiftieth) of the Paris Bible Society. In his speech on the occasion he said:—"I will not anticipate the report of the committee, which will tell you of the results we have accomplished during the last fifty years. In our modest French Protestant Church our Bible Society has already distributed 500,000 copies of the Scriptures, at a cost of more than 2,000,000 francs. But what is that compared with what the English Bible Society has done in the same period and for the same object? Since 1804, the time of its foundation, it has distributed 52,662,069 copies of the holy writings, and in the course of a

single year, between the 30th of March, 1866, and the 30th of March, 1867, it expended on that work 6,537,450 francs. Such results are no doubt in a great measure due to the power and wealth of Great Britain, but infinitely more so to the force and influence of the Bible. The success of that half-century, the jubilee of which our Bible Society is about to celebrate, belongs much more to Divine aid than to human efforts."

COMMERCIAL-ROAD.—Valedictory services in connection with the resignation of the pastorate of Rev. T. Goadby, B.A., of Commercial-road Chapel, London, who has accepted an invitation from Osmaston-road Church, Derby, was held on Sunday, April 26, and on Tuesday, April 28. At the tea-meeting on Tuesday, an address engrossed and signed by nearly 300 of the members of the church and congregation, was presented to Mr. Goadby by the senior deacon, Mr. Quiney, together with a purse of 25*l.*, and also an album containing the portraits of his young men's class. Addresses were delivered by Revs. J. Clifford (chairman), Mr. Price (Independent), Mr. Harcourt, Mr. Stanton, and Archibald G. Brown, of Stepney Tabernacle. The meetings were very largely attended.

SHREWSBURY.—After the lapse of 102 years, Swan-hill Independent Chapel, Shrewsbury, has been rebuilt in harmony with the prevailing architectural taste. The accommodation on the ground floor is 266, and in galleries 246, giving a total of 512 sittings. The reopening services took place on Tuesday, April 28th. The Rev. R. D. Wilson, of Craven Chapel, London, preached. Afterwards a number of ministers and friends met at the Crown Hotel, Pride-hill, where dinner had been provided. T. Barnes, Esq., took the chair, and several speeches were made. At the evening services there was a numerous congregation; the Rev. R. D. Wilson again preached. The cost of the alterations is expected to reach more than 1,600*l.*; and of that sum nearly 1,300*l.* has been received, and about 140*l.* promised has yet to be paid. The collections reached 79*l.*, so that some 120*l.*, in addition to the 140*l.* not yet paid in, is still required. The present pastor is the Rev. G. Kettle.

Anniversary Meetings.

RELIGIOUS TRACT SOCIETY.

The annual meeting of this society was held on Tuesday evening, April 28, in Exeter Hall. Mr. Duncan McLaren, M.P., presided, supported by Dr. G. H. Davis, the Rev. Dr. Mullens, Mr. James Spicer, Mr. R. Baxter, the Rev. Dr. Edmond, Mr. J. G. Hoare, the Rev. R. Robinson, &c. The meeting having joined in singing the hymn, "Salvation, oh the joyful sound," the Rev. Canon Champneys offered prayer, after which

Dr. G. H. DAVIS presented the annual report, of which the following is an abstract:—

Under the head "Home Operations," it said that during the past year the society has published over one hundred new tracts and handbills, fifteen books for adults, nineteen books for the young, and a large variety of small books for children. It has also published several packets of illuminated cards and tablets. Its weekly periodicals—the *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*—continue to command large sales; as do also the monthly—the *Tract Magazine*, the *Child's Companion*, and the *Cottage and Artisan*. The grants to Great Britain and Ireland have been as follows:—The total grants to England and Wales for the year have amounted to 5,943*l.* 6*s.* 3*d.*; to Scotland, 714*l.* 1*s.* 10*d.*; and to Ireland, 348*l.* 8*s.* 5*d.* The total grants for Great Britain and Ireland is 7,225*l.* 25*s.*, the value being 7,005*l.* 16*s.* 6*d.*

Under the head, "Foreign Operations," the report said that in France large grants have been made to the Paris Tract Society, the Sunday-school Union, the Toulouse Book Society, and to private individuals. The circulation in this country, including those distributed from the kiosks at the Exhibition, has been between four and five millions. Through the Belgian Evangelical Society, 122,000 copies of various tracts have been printed. The circulation reached 116,781 tracts and books, of which nearly 8,000 were sold. From the depository at Rotterdam 82,415 publications for adults and children have been issued. At St. Petersburg, 63,000 tracts have been printed, and 100,714 circulated; and at Riga nearly 30,000. At Stockholm, 2,000 copies of Watson's "Reply to Paine," and 2,000 of Bishop Porteous' "Evidences," together with 80,000 tracts, have been published, and 100,000 distributed. The grants to German have amounted to 950*l.*, and the circulation has been—by the Lower Saxony Society, 700,000; Nassau, 139,797; Bremen, 696,810; Elberfeld, 277,262; Hamburg, 1,013,738. The works printed by the society in Hungary have been—in Hungarian books, 3,000; Hungarian tracts, 5,000; in Slavonian books, 5,000; Slavonian tracts, 15,000—total, 28,000. 540 books and 45,908 tracts have been sold. In Bucharest 13,480 publications have been issued, of which 2,068 were sold. In Italy, the *Amico di Casa* (an almanack) and the *Eco della Verita* (a periodical) continued to be published; 58,000 copies of twenty different tracts and books have been printed. The sales have reached 83,838 copies, being an increase of 20,000 over the previous year. In Portugal, 17,182 tracts and books have been circulated, and over 2,000 Spanish publications have been granted for introduction into Spain. In Turkey, 43,475 books and tracts have been put into circulation in Armeno-Turkish and Bulgarian; the Life of Christ in Turkish has been widely circulated, and some elementary publications have been prepared for the Ghegs and Toaks, or the Northern and Southern Albanians. In India the following works have been printed:—At Allahabad, 23,000 in Hindi and Urdu; at Bombay, 153,000 in Marathi, Guzerathi, Hindustani, &c.; at Surat, 44,000 in Guzerathi; at Madras, 106,900 in Telugu and Tamil.

at Mangalore, 50,000 in Canarese, Malayalam and Tulu; at Bangalore, 76,500; in South Travancore 101,400; in Orissa, 36,000; and in Ceylon, 32,000 tracts in Sinhalese, 6,000 in Portuguese, 27,000 educational works, besides 30,000 copies of a periodical for children, and 37,000 copies of a vernacular almanack. Returns from Calcutta and the Panjab have not been received. In China, there have been printed—at Shanghai, 24,500 publications; at Hong-Kong, 75,000; at Peking, over 12,000; at Amoy, over 9,000; and at Canton, 20,000. In addition to these publications in different countries, large grants of English publications have been made to the colonies in North America, the West India Islands, Australia, and Africa.

With regard to the funds, the report said the total receipts have been 113,932l., being an increase of 2,317l. over the past year. The total expenditure has been 112,333l. The grants have amounted to 13,467l., distributed as follows:—

	£	s.	d.
Foreign grants in money	3,751	18	0
" paper and publications	2,709	12	8
Domestic grants	5,517	4	2
Grants for Emigrants	166	6	5
" District Libraries	489	0	5
" School Libraries	727	7	0
" Colporteurs	105	18	6

£13,467 7 2

This sum is in excess of the subscriptions, donations, and collections, by 2,332l. 18s. 3d. Every subscriber of 10s. 6d. per annum obtains, it was remarked, a reduction on all purchases of 25 per cent, while the subscriptions themselves are appropriated to the grants without any deductions for officers', travelling, or any other expenses.

In conclusion, the report said the number of publications issued from the Depository during the past year amounted to 40,991,763—being an increase of 2,371,272 over last year. If to these be added the number of probable issues in foreign countries, the amount will be about 46,991,763; and the proximate circulation from the formation of the society, 1,238,990,000.

The CHAIRMAN, on rising, was received with cheers. He said the report must have given them great delight. He had enjoyed the advantage of reading it before he came to that meeting, and he took out a few salient points which he thought he might with good effect state in a rough way. When they read about millions of money, or millions of books, they did not have a very definite idea in their minds. It had been stated already that about forty-seven millions of books and tracts had been distributed last year. Now that would be two books, or tracts, to every man in England and Scotland; that would be forty-seven millions, and to this extent had the society sent out publications. (Cheers.) They had been told the income of the society, and it had been massed up in large sums. The report showed that the subscriptions and donations were 11,000l. That was all the money which all the benevolence of the country had contributed to the work of the society. But the amount of the books and tracts had exceeded 13,000l. Persons might be inclined to say that the society was getting into debt in looking at these figures. But this was not the case. The surplus had been derived from the profits of the society's large publishing business. The society conducted its operations in such a way that there was no waste or loss, but a large profit; and it was out of the profits of their enormous business that the surplus of 2,900l. had been obtained. (Cheers.) An objection was sometimes made to religious institutions that they were giving more money to people abroad than to those at home. He believed it would be found that those who did give money for foreign work did not neglect home; but the objection could not be brought against the operations of the Tract Society, for 7,000l. had been expended at home in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and the residue had been given to Europe, China, India, and to the uttermost parts of the earth. In fact, there was scarcely a language in which the society had not published tracts or books. He heartily commended it to their continued support, believing that it deserved to be efficiently maintained by the Christian community of the country. (Cheers.)

The Rev. R. FORREST moved the adoption of the report, stating that the abstract of the report to which they had just listened was, he thought, the best speech which would be that evening delivered. The title of the society gave a very inadequate idea of its operations. He believed in tracts—they had conveyed saving health to immortal souls; but beyond these, there were books for all characters and ages, serials suitable to the young, and weighty books suitable for the grave and thoughtful. He was greatly impressed with the liberality of the society,—at its grants at home and abroad. The society seemed to live almost all for love and nothing for reward; yet its position was the reverse of poverty-stricken. He liked the society for its thorough soundness and doctrinal purity; we can circulate without a preliminary examination any of its publications. The society maintained the honour and authority of the Word of God. There was no ground to stand upon save that of the Apostle, "All Scripture is given by inspiration of God." He honoured the society because it protested against the Romanising and the Romanism which were coming in upon this country like a flood. (Cheers.) The society had been signally owned and blessed of God in the conversion of souls, and religious tracts he recommended as a great means of usefulness. When they thought of the society's catholicity, and how truly evangelical Christians of all denominations were represented in it, he thought it worthy of the support of all those who were sighing for unity. Having looked at the society's grants to the Abyssinian expedition and to the spread of Divine truth in Ireland, he resumed his seat amid cheers.

The Rev. Dr. O. WINSLOW seconded the resolution. He heartily united with the speaker who had just sat down in urging the claims of this national society. The report was a masterly production, and would urge many, he doubted not, to increased effort in the cause of Christ. Perhaps they might have thought that the report had a sombre tint; but when they considered what their national literature was becoming, how it was being permeated by infidel and profligate sentiments, he thought that the report was not one whit too darkly tinted,—it was only too true to fact. He had strong misgivings as to the rage for fiction at present existing, and he thought that God's people ought solemnly to consider the subject. He was awe-struck at the solemn account which brilliant writers would have to give for lowering morals and casting a slur upon God's Word. He loved the Tract Society because it supplied us with evangelical works. He had never seen a volume or tract whose orthodoxy had been called in question. It was a law that every tract should embody the statement of the plan of salvation. He advocated the society because it was a church working society, setting in motion the energies and activities of God's people. Then, again, the society was a soul-advancing society on the part of those who were distributing its publications. In conclusion, he bade all tract distributors be of good courage, remembering that no seed they had ever sown should be lost. It should spring up and bear an abundant harvest to the glory of God. He viewed the British and Foreign Bible Society and the Religious Tract Society as the two arms of the Christian Church, and so long as they, by faith and love and prayer, upheld these two great arms of the Church, he had no fear of the evils which were coming in like a flood. (Cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. MULLEN moved the second resolution alluding to the increase of impure publications, and calling upon the meeting to circulate pure, sound, and evangelical literature. The resolution also referred to the foreign operations of the society, to the importance of increasing its benevolent contributions. He said he was glad to thank the society for its liberal support of the tract societies of India. Those societies were carrying on large operations, and exercising an extensive influence. The publications of the society were circulated at least among people of twelve languages. In India they had fought with foul literature, and compelled it to sink into its native darkness. The largest share of education in India had been confined to the middle class; and he had no doubt that many would eventually come forward to put their hand to the plough. The Religious Tract Society had done much in helping forward the mighty change which was now taking place in society, and he earnestly hoped the meeting would practically adopt the resolution, and give an increased support to its funds. (Cheers.)

The Rev. HUGH HULEATT said undoubtedly God had put great honour on the work of the society, and he could not refuse to speak a word on its behalf. God had called it to occupy a place, the importance of which it was impossible to overestimate. The penny papers and magazine was the Bible and prayer-book of large masses. Print shops were now next to public-houses. Foul publications were powerfully influencing the masses, and their influence was of the most shameful character. There was being poured in a flood of immorality and infidelity on the people; and it behoved all who loved God and virtue to do what they could to check the evil. He believed the remedy was to give people good literature as a preservative against what was immoral and infidel.

A vote of thanks to the Chairman was moved by Mr. J. G. HOARE seconded by the Rev. JOSEPH BURNS, and adopted; after which the Rev. J. H. TITCOMB pronounced the benediction.

THE BAPTIST UNION.

The adjourned session of the Union was held on Thursday in Walworth-road Chapel. After a devotional service, in which the Rev. C. Woollacott, Rev. D. Wassell, Rev. K. Gilpin, and the Rev. W. Sampson took part, the Rev. Dr. Gotch, chairman of the Union, took the chair, being supported by the Rev. Dr. Angus, Rev. Dr. Hoby, Rev. J. H. Hinton, &c.

The Rev. J. H. MILLARD, B.A., presented the report of the committee of the Union, a full abstract of which has already appeared in our columns. Dr. Hoby moved the adoption of the report, which was seconded, and unanimously adopted.

AUGMENTATION OF MINISTERS' INCOMES.

The Rev. CHARLES WILLIAMS, Southampton, next introduced the question of the augmentation of ministers' incomes.

He said the committee appointed at the autumnal meeting to inquire into the practicability of making a provision whereby the incomes of their poorer ministers might be increased, had now to report a scheme of a society for the purpose. The object of the society was to induce and assist churches to provide an honourable maintenance for their pastors. The following were the rules:—All churches, and individual members of churches, contributing not less than 10l. per annum to the fund, shall be members of the society. The fund shall be administered by a committee consisting of twenty brethren, who shall be elected at the annual meeting. The income of the society, after the deduction of the working expenses, shall be distributed among pastors of contributing churches whose salary does not exceed 150l. a year. The committee shall be empowered to decline or to return the contribution of any church, but shall in every such case submit its decision for confirmation or reversal to the annual meeting. A meeting of the ministers and deacons of the contri-

buted, but non-participating, churches shall be held during the autumnal session, or, if no such session be held, at any place in the month of October the committee may determine, for the purpose of receiving the report, distributing the fund, and electing the committee for the next year. Amongst the bye-laws were the following: The committee to co-operate with the Baptist Fund; the committee to arrange with association auxiliaries that they shall determine on the claims of the churches within their respective districts, subject to the approval of the committee; the committee to ascertain that the fund is not used to help an unworthy church or pastor; and that it secures a real augmentation of the minister's income. In furtherance of this object the committee to seek, in every case, in concert with the Baptist Fund and associations, to stimulate the churches to give a just and liberal support to their pastors. Although the committee were not prepared to recommend the session to adopt this or any other scheme—as in their opinion the time was not come for a final decision—they respectfully submitted it for careful consideration and discussion; and further suggested that associations should be requested to pronounce their judgment upon it, as well as upon the general subject of an augmentation fund, at their general meeting. The committee also recommended that the carrying out of this proposal should be entrusted to the committee of the Union, with an instruction to report thereon to the autumnal meeting. In conclusion, Mr. Williams said he hoped they would not always be talking about helping their brethren, and doing nothing. He hoped they would thoroughly discuss the matter; and should it be impracticable for the Union to concoct a scheme, he trusted it would not be impracticable to the associations to do so. Some said that it would be inconsistent with their principles, but if their principles ran counter to those principles imposed upon them by brotherly love, it was time that they should be renounced. He would rather serve Christ in serving his brethren than uphold any church theory whatever.

He begged to move the adoption of the report of the Sustentation Fund Committee. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. MURSELL seconded the adoption of the report.

The Rev. C. H. SPURGEON said that any plan he thought would be better than doing nothing. It was true they could not give up their principles for the sake of bread; but unless they gave their ministers bread they could not hold their principles. There were only ten churches doing anything to meet the wants of the poorer brethren; and those churches were in London connected with the Baptist Fund. He was not so sure about new societies, but at all events they should not forget the older ones, and the new ones ought to work parallel with them. Amongst the ten churches his own was one, and one year they had raised 240l. for this object. He could not ask them to join a new society, but he would ask them to give more.

The Revs. C. STOVEL, J. P. CHOWN, and N. HAYCROFT also spoke on the subject. The last-named said he believed there were very few ministers who were in the receipt of suitable salaries who did not every year tax their friends for help for poor ministers. He knew some present who had shown large generosity in this respect. If a plan could be adopted without compelling poor ministers to depend on the gifts of their Christian brethren it would be very desirable. Everything had as yet failed. Perhaps there was another evil in the fact that ministerial incomes had not augmented for twenty years. They received less than twenty years ago. The rich might have doubled and trebled their offerings, salaries had risen in every other department, but not in the ministry. He hoped the scheme would be fairly considered.

The report was then received.

NATIONAL EDUCATION.

The assembly next proceeded to discuss the resolutions on popular education which the committee appointed at the autumnal session of the Baptist Union came prepared to recommend for adoption. The first resolution was in the following terms:—

That this Union regards the establishment of an equitable system of national education as now possible in England, the essential conditions being: 1st, the separation between secular and religious instruction; 2nd, the limitation of school inspection and control to the secular department; and 3rd, the recognition of efficiency in this department as constituting the sole claim to Government support.

This resolution having been moved by the Rev. S. GREEN, B.A., and seconded by the Rev. Dr. Stock, Mr. H. M. BUMPAS rose to move an amendment:—"That the establishment of schools by public authorities, except in the case of children whose parents are shown to be unable to pay for their education, is contrary to the true principles of government, and uncalled for by the circumstances of the time. That it is the duty of Government, by the extension of the Factory Acts and such other means as they may see best, to render compulsory upon parents the education of their children." This amendment he enforced in a speech of considerable vigour, maintaining that the principles which our forefathers had handed down were, in a moment of victory, being deserted. The Rev. H. STEPHENS seconded the amendment.

After a good deal of discussion, in which the Revs. Dr. Price (Aberdare), J. A. Spurgeon, Dr. Angus, Mr. Tilley, and N. Haycroft took part, the resolution was carried. It was then resolved that the discussion of the remaining four resolutions should be postponed until the autumnal session.

At the close of the morning's proceedings a large company sat down to dinner in the Lecture Hall, Metropolitan Tabernacle. The Rev. Dr. Landels, chairman of the London Association, presided, supported by Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, Rev. W. Arthur (Wesleyan), Rev. J. C. Gallaway (Independent), Rev. Dr. Gotch, &c. After various addresses, the Union held a brief session to transact its remaining business.

BAPTIST MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The seventy-sixth annual meeting of this society was held on Thursday evening in Exeter Hall, when there was a large attendance. Mr. H. Kelsall presided, and on the platform were Sir Robert Lush, Mr. Muntz, Mr. Angus Croll, the Rev. C. H. Spurgeon, the Rev. W. Brock, Dr. Landels, &c.

A hymn having been sung, the Rev. W. Howieson offered prayer.

The Rev. F. TRESTRAIL, the secretary, presented the annual report, or rather its leading features, of which the following is a summary:—

The year which has just closed has been to the committee and the friends of the society one of unusual anxiety, because it began with a debt of more than 5,000*l*. Happily, however, fears have passed away, and though they still have to regret the existence of a debt, yet they have to present a somewhat encouraging report. Towards the debt, 4,500*l*. 19*s*. 2*d*. had been received to the 31st March, made up of contributions from 1*s*. to 200*l*. These gifts have come from numerous churches and many private individuals. But they have been given without reluctance, and in a spirit which greatly enhanced their value—almost invariably accompanied with expressions of the warmest affection to the society, and most earnest wishes for its prosperity and success. The contributions for general purposes—from the churches and auxiliaries, and including legacies, donations, and advances from the *Calcutta Mission Press*—amount to 23,800*l*. 7*s*. 9*d*.; and with those for special objects, 30,362*l*. 15*s*. 1*d*. If the donations towards the debt be added, the entire income for the past year will be 34,912*l*. 14*s*. 3*d*., the largest income which the society has ever had, except on the year of its jubilee. The expenditure has been 33,158*l*. 16*s*. 6*d*., which is in excess of previous years, but chiefly in India, and owing to exceptional and unforeseen causes. In the greater number of stations in other parts of the field, the expenditure has rarely exceeded the estimates laid before the committee at the beginning of the year. The balance now due to the treasurer, inclusive of the small balance of last year's debt, and this year's deficit, is 3,342*l*. 15*s*. 8*d*. With regard to the work abroad, the year has been in one sense uneventful, whether regard be had to the labourers or the fields of their labour. Yet the committee are permitted to rejoice over manifold tokens of the Divine care and blessing, and over results that may well call forth fervent gratitude to God. The society's present staff of missionaries and assistant-missionaries, in all parts of the world, numbers fifty-eight individuals. Four of these brethren devote nearly the whole of their time to the translation of the Holy Scriptures into the languages of India, Ceylon, and Africa, and to carrying these versions, when ready, through the press. During the year the New Testament has been completed in Hindi, a new and most convenient edition of the Bengali Bible has been issued, and much progress been made with the Old Testament in Singalese and in the Dualla languages. In Africa and the West Indies there are seven brethren who are pastors of the native churches they have gathered, but, at the same time, who make daily visits to the pagan population around them. Omitting the congregations in Jamaica from consideration, there are at present about 105 native churches in connection with the society. They contain somewhat more than 6,200 members, in the following proportions: in India, about 2,080; in Ceylon, China, and Europe, 730; and in Africa and the West Indies, 3,430. Several of the native churches are self-sustaining. The prospects before the Christian Church, both in India and China, are full of hope. But the committee is straitened. Neither an adequate number of men, nor the means of their support, is forthcoming. Every year seems to add to the difficulty of meeting current expenditure, and this difficulty is increased by the largely growing cost of sustaining brethren in the field, with the manifold agencies their work requires.

Mr. Trestrail announced that since entering the hall he had received a cheque for 500*l*. from Mr. Graves, and that another friend had given a similar amount. (Cheers.)

After a brief and appropriate address from the CHAIRMAN, the Rev. G. KERRY, of Calcutta, moved,—

That this meeting looks with devout thankfulness on the steady extension of the mission-field in China, and other densely-peopled countries of the world, where degrading but deeply-cherished superstitions have been prevalent for ages; and regards the rapid diffusion of knowledge by the various educational establishments in India—the remarkable changes of religious thought and opinion among the more influential classes of its inhabitants, together with the recent and daily increasing openings for the labours of devout women in the zenanas—appropriately designated by one actively engaged in them “*The Dawn of Light*”—the increasing liberality of the young in sustaining the operations of this and kindred institutions—and the godly measure of success attending all missionary labour, as calling loudly for renewed effort and self-sacrificing zeal; and therefore would commend this and all other missionary societies to the affection, liberality, and prayers of the churches of Christ, and the blessing of Almighty God.

In the course of his speech he said he believed that a great work was going on amongst the people of India, which God in His own time would signally manifest before the eyes of His wondering Church, and even of those who had cast scorn upon and contempt upon their labours. He then spoke of the work among the zenanas—

Until recently we could not preach the Gospel to women in India. I have never been able to preach to any Hindoo women in India. You cannot address the words of life and mercy to them; and until very lately even the wives and daughters of missionaries and others who had at heart the best interests of the people, could do nothing effectually for them. Many attempts were made; great expenditure, much sacrifice of time and labour; but practically it was a failure. A wondrous change has taken place. In Calcutta there are three hundred houses of the Hindoos to which Christian women may go, taking the Word of Life, and teaching the way of salvation. Twelve hundred men and girls in these zenanas receive instruction, which must be blessed to them, because God had said that His Word shall not return unto Him void, but shall accomplish that which He pleases, and prosper in the thing to which He has sent it. One could almost envy those noble-minded women,

like Mrs. Sale, and Miss Leslie—one the wife of one of our ablest missionaries; the other the daughter of our oldest missionary—women with apostolic zeal and spirit, who go forth day by day to this work, which is one of the most trying, arduous, and perilous of all the Christian agencies in India. I would that the Christian women of this country understood the degradation, the sufferings and sorrows of women in India, in consequence of the foul and hateful system of religion which has so enhanced their minds that they have themselves helped to strengthen the bonds by which they are enslaved.

In all the districts of India where native Christian communities had been gathered, the missionary met with constant opportunities of preaching the Gospel. Wherever he went the Hindoos came, because they knew that he was a friend of the lowest classes of the people, a man who had a kind word for all. And that was looked upon as a great thing, because Europeans generally did carry themselves rather high towards the natives. He did not want to say anything harsh about his own countrymen, but that was true. They were the aristocrats there. The missionary, he believed, with some few exceptions, was the only man who moved among the common people and gave them a practical illustration of the common brotherhood of the human race. (Applause.)

The resolution was seconded by the Rev. CHARLES CLARK, of Bristol, in a long, eloquent, and much applauded speech.

The second resolution, which referred to the liberal contributions towards the liquidation of the debt, and to the increase of the regular income, was moved by the Rev. D. WASSILL, of Bath, and seconded by Dr. PRICE, of Aberdare. The latter, in a hearty, humorous speech, said that the contributions of the Welsh churches to the society had increased in seven years eighty per cent., and he would recommend them to increase them twenty more in the next two years. If their English friends would increase theirs at the rate of twenty-five per cent., the society would have 15,000*l*. to 18,000*l*. per annum more than they now had. Then they could easily occupy the positions now offered and open India to their missionaries, from Cape Comorin in the south up to Lahore in the north, and from the confines of Burmah on the east to Bombay in the west. (Cheers.)

Mr. CHARLES REED, who represented the London Missionary Society, supported the resolution in an effective and practical speech, in the course of which he said that if they wanted to rescue a few of their countrymen incarcerated by a barbarian a great distance from their land, there were multitudes of men willing to offer for any forlorn hope that they might win fame in going forth and rescuing these men. Well, why should it not be said that Christian England and their Christian churches could furnish a band of men and women who, with all the spirit of self-sacrifice, would give themselves to this work, and go forth and preach the Gospel? He urged this point strongly upon the sons of Christian people of standing and means.

The resolution was unanimously adopted, and the proceedings closed by singing the doxology.

THE SURREY MISSION.—The seventy-first anniversary of this society was held on Tuesday, at the Presbyterian church, Clapham, and was numerously attended. The Rev. S. Martin, Westminster, preached the annual sermon, after which a large party of ministers and friends sat down to dinner in the Lecture-hall adjoining the church, under the presidency of Mr. John Churchhill. In the evening a public meeting was held, Mr. J. Kemp Welch in the chair. The report indicated the efficient and prosperous condition of the society, which, it was stated, increased in vigour as it increased in years. The meeting was addressed by Rev. J. S. Bright, Rev. J. Soule (secretary), Rev. J. Pillans, Mr. W. Edwards, Mr. Churchill, and Mr. J. Corderoy.

BIBLE TRANSLATION SOCIETY.—The annual meeting of this society was held on Monday evening, April 27, at Kingsgate-street Chapel, Holborn, Henry Kelsall, Esq., in the chair. The financial statement showed that the total income for the year was 1,654*l*. 18*s*. 1*d*., of which 1,000*l*. had been voted to the Baptist Mission, and 100*l*. in aid of the version for Orissa. The most striking event of the meeting was the production of a copy of the entire Scriptures in the Bengali language, one of the results of the labours of this society. The first edition was published some years since in three bulky volumes. Interesting addresses were delivered by the Revs. Dr. Steane, of Camberwell; W. Bailey, of Berhampore; George Kerry, of Calcutta; J. P. Chown, of Bradford; and W. Walters, of Newcastle.

BRITISH AND IRISH BAPTIST HOME MISSION.—The anniversary meeting of this society was held on Tuesday evening, April 28th, at Bloomsbury Chapel, H. Winterbotham, Esq., M.P., in the chair. The report, read by the Rev. C. Kirtland, showed that a falling off of 700*l*. in legacies and special donations had considerably reduced the total receipt of the society during the past year as compared with the previous year, but in spite of commercial depression, the contributions, collections, and subscriptions had yielded 200*l*. more than the previous year. The mission employs 240 agents. The income for the past year was 4,394*l*., leaving a balance in hand of 410*l*. The meeting was addressed by the Revs. W. Stott, J. P. Chown, S. H. Booth, and Joseph Tritton, Esq. Special attention was directed to the desirableness of vigorous efforts being made on the part of the free churches of England, consequent on the approaching disendowment of Episcopalianism and Presbyterianism in Ireland, to spread among the inhabitants of

the sister island the doctrines of Christianity in their primitive simplicity. The chairman threw out some suggestions as to the preparation of missionary reports, which, he considered, would be more calculated to excite real interest, if they indicated, in conjunction with a record of the labours of the agents, the surrounding circumstances of each particular station.

Correspondence.

DR. GOTCH AND THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—I notice in the interesting account of the annual session of the Baptist Union, in the last number of the *Nonconformist*, a remark of the Chairman Dr. Gotch, which calls for a most emphatic protest from every member of the Society of Friends. In speaking of those denominations of professing Christians who would, under certain circumstances, accept an alliance with the State, he goes on to say, “*The Society of Friends I think could.*” I read over this remark again again before I could believe that any one occupying so prominent a position as Dr. Gotch could be so ill informed on the history and opinions of the Society of Friends.

From the rise of the Society to the present moment it has consistently testified against any alliance of the character alluded to; and while I rejoice to find that the Baptists consider themselves clear in this respect, I cannot allow the claim of that body to stand alone, or even to take precedence, in upholding this most important principle.

Allow me to refer Dr. Gotch and others interested to an authorised publication of the Society, entitled “*Christian Doctrine, Practice, and Discipline*,” which may be had at the depository, 88, Houndsditch, London, the perusal of which will lead to a different estimate of the views of Friends on this and other subjects.

I enclose my card, and am respectfully,

AN OLD SUBSCRIBER AND A MEMBER
OF THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

CHURCH PROPERTY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

ESTEEMED FRIEND,—Amidst the outcry for the “*amendments of vested rights*” made by the men in possession, in connection with the proposal for disestablishing the Episcopal Church in Ireland, but little reference is made to the rights of the poor of Ireland for *large* consideration, whenever that most just and salutary measure should happily be accomplished. Any one conversant with the history of the origin of tithes and monastic endowments must be aware that they were largely set up for the benefit and help of those least favoured by fortune, and for the enjoyment of a proud hierarchy or pampered aristocracy.

We find that, according to Ambrose and others, nothing definite was ordered with respect to the quantity of the tithes, until about the year 800, when a *tenth* was recommended, but always as a *free gift*. The offerings of the Church in those days were not only for the priests, but for the relief of those in distress, all gifts in each bishopric being placed in a common treasury, out of which one-fourth went to the priest; another to the relief of the poor, sick, and strangers; another to the building and repairing of places for public meetings, called churches; and the remaining fourth to the bishop. Even this was a *Romish* innovation, for tithes were not so much as mentioned in the first eight general councils of the *Romish Church*; the ninth, held at Lateran, under Pope Calixtus II., being the first to do so. Afterwards, as the people gave freely towards the religious houses, the priests became alarmed, and at a council held in 1180, under Pope Alexander, inhibited appropriations to religious houses, without the consent of the bishop. “*The people being led to believe that their tithes ought to be given for the relief of the poor, did chiefly dispose them to the heads and governors of religious houses, who kept open hospitality for the poor and entertainment for strangers*”; so that it is evident that much was originally given for the poor, and but little for the priest, until the cunning hierarchy decreed to *restrain the people's freedom*. From the year 800 to 900 and 1000 tithes were called the *Lord's goods*, the *patrimony of the poor*, whence also the Council of Nantes declared the clergy were not to use them as *their own*, but as “*commended to their trust*.” Councils and popes continued to denounce the people for giving their tithes for the support of the poor, and not to the priests, until at a general council, held at Lyons in 1274, under Gregory X., it was ordered that it should not thenceforth be lawful for men to give their tithes of their own pleasure, but they were to pay all their tithes to the mother Church. This order was further confirmed at the Council of Trent in 1560, under Pius IV. When Gregory I., about the year 600, sent Augustine the monk into this country to convert the Saxon English, he was ordered “*to imitate the community of all things used in the primitive times under the Apostles, that their religion should not be made burdensome*.” What a pity that this plan was so soon laid aside! The Saxon kings made laws for tithes, as Athelstan in 930, Edmond in 940, Edgar in 970, Ethelred II. in 1010, Canute in 1020; also Edward the Confessor. The Normans

also did the same, including King Henry I. and II., with Stephen, who made a grant confirming tithes and other matters to the Church for appropriation as before noted; saying that he did it, "that by the distribution of *alms*, persons may be absolved from the bonds of sin, and acquire the rewards of heavenly joys."

In England the tithing system may be said to have been established when Pope Innocent the Third, about the year 1200, sent his decretal epistle to the Bishop of Canterbury ordering all men to pay their temporal goods to "those that minister spiritual things to them." This decree robbed the people of their right of giving tithes, and its baneful effect upon the clergy was soon evinced,—as by the complaint of Wycliff in the reign of Richard the Second does plainly appear. He says:—"Ah! Lord Jesu Christ, with within few years men paid their tithes and offerings at their own will, free to good men, and able to great worship of God, to profit and fairness of Holy Church fighting on earth,—*Why it was lawful and needful that a worldly priest should destroy this holy and approved custom, constraining men to leave this freedom, and turning tithes and offerings into wicked uses.*" &c.

Notwithstanding, our English Parliament, being mindful of the poor, for whose sake tithes were chiefly given, did make divers laws that a convenient portion of the tithes should be set apart for the maintenance of the poor of the parishes for ever. See 15 Richard II., 6, and 4th of Henry IV. In the 6th of Henry IV., first fruits and tenths from archbishops and bishops to the Pope were termed "an horrible mischief and damnable custom," and yet subsequently we find Henry the Eighth by Act of Parliament, in the twenty-sixth year of his reign, taking first fruits and tenths from the Pope (who claimed them as successor to the Jewish high priest and head of the Church), and annexing them to the Crown as head of the Church,—thus unjustly retaining the pay, whilst abolishing the office!

With respect to the lay impropiator, when he bought his tithe-right, he could not by any stretch of reasoning buy more than the abbey, monastery, or dissolved house had to dispose of at the time they were in the enjoyment of them; one of these conditions being that out of their tithes they were to find a sufficient priest, or curate, canonically instituted, and also that a convenient portion of the tithe was to be set apart for the *yearly maintenance of the poor of the parish for ever*,—as is provided by divers Acts of Parliament. If strict justice is to be done in dividing and appropriating the revenues of the Irish Church, is it not clear that the poor of Ireland should be considered? Would not such an arrangement also materially relieve the tillers of the soil from their present burdensome poor-rates?

I am, respectfully,

WILLIAM ALLEN.

April 16, 1868.

Parliamentary Intelligence.

HOUSE OF LORDS.

THE COMPULSORY ABOLITION OF CHURCH-RATES BILL.
On Thursday, on the order of the day for going into committee on this bill,

Earl RUSSELL said he had already intimated that, although he should have preferred the bill being considered in committee of the whole House, he should not object to the amendment of the noble earl the Lord Privy Seal to refer it to a select committee, on the understanding of the declaration made by the noble earl, and also by the most rev. prelate, as well as by the Lord Chancellor, that the principle of the bill was affirmed, and that the amendments proposed would be in the spirit of carrying out that declaration, so that the bill might become an Act of Parliament, and not with the view of destroying the bill altogether. He would only further say that two points seemed absolutely essential; the one was that the compulsory power for collecting Church-rates should be abolished, and the other was that the Church of England should have the most convenient means which legislation could afford for collecting the funds necessary for those objects to which Church-rates were devoted. These were the objects of the bill, and he hoped they would be carried out by the bill as it came from the hands of the select committee.

The Earl of MALMESBURY was glad the noble earl had consented to the reference of the bill to a committee upstairs. He was convinced the procedure there would be much more favourable to the production of a satisfactory measure than the discussion of it in committee of the whole House.

Lord LYVEDEN extremely regretted the proposal that this bill should be referred to a select committee, and that his noble friend the noble earl (Russell) had acceded to it. He thought it much better that the bill should be discussed in committee of the whole House. It was a most important matter of public business, and there was no subject that would have given the public a more favourable opportunity of judging how far their lordships were disposed to perform their public duties than the open discussion of the question of Church-rates. He felt more and more convinced that the proposal he made in 1860 was the proper one—namely, to put an end to the compulsory collection of Church-rates, which was the object of this measure, and afterwards to introduce a bill for regulating the payment of voluntary assess-

ments for Church-rate purposes, to which no Dissenter nor anybody else could object. He rejoiced extremely to find in the debate on the second reading the altered tone of the right rev. bench from what it was in 1860, when he brought forward the bill to which he had referred after it had passed the House of Commons. Sure he was, it was for the interest of the Church that Church-rates should be abolished; every new compulsory levy tended to increase the number of Dissenters. The objection on the score of religious feeling once put aside, it would be perfectly easy to make satisfactory regulations for voluntary assessments. He feared that great confusion would arise under this bill. Its clauses were certainly not such as he could wish to see passed. He hoped it was not intended to take evidence before the committee. He hoped there would be no attempt to smother the bill in the committee upstairs, or so materially to alter it as to insure its rejection, which would be a great damage to the Church.

The Duke of RICHMOND had no doubt the bill now to be referred to a select committee would be found, when it came out of committee, a better measure than that which the noble lord introduced on a former occasion. The noble lord regretted that this bill should be referred to a select committee, and he said that the public out of doors would think their lordships incapable of dealing with a measure of this description because it was so referred; but only two sentences after the noble lord contradicted himself, because he said it had been ably discussed by the most reverend prelate and those who followed him. He also gave the most conclusive reasons why the bill should be referred to a select committee, because he said there was great confusion in its various clauses that would require great care in their adjustment. The second clause, according to the noble and learned lord on the woolsack, was such as no one could well understand; and the bill dealt with a great number of local Acts, the operation of which a select committee, constituted as no doubt this would be, was a much better tribunal for discussing than a committee of the whole House. The purpose for which it was proposed to send the bill to a select committee was in order that all those parts of the bill which were at present obscure might be made clear, and in adopting that mode of proceeding there was not the least intention to smother the bill.

The Duke of SOMERSET thought it should be clearly understood for what purpose the bill was sent to a select committee. In his opinion, the object of referring the bill to a select committee was not for the purpose of taking evidence, as the general principle of the bill was well understood, but for the purpose of arranging and perfecting those clauses which provided for the voluntary collection of Church-rates, and of examining and considering those other clauses which affected local Acts, so that nothing might be done indirectly which was not intended to be done directly.

The bill was then ordered to be referred to a select committee.

The House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock.

On Friday, Lord TANKERVILLE, the Lord Steward of the Household, said that he had presented the address of their Lordships to her Majesty, who had given the following most gracious reply:—

I receive with deep satisfaction your sympathising address. The attempt upon the life of my son, the Duke of Edinburgh, has, I feel, only further aroused the loyalty of my Australian subjects, so heartily displayed in his reception. I am very sensible of the Divine protection afforded him, and in my anxiety still trust in it; while in this as in all trials I derive consolation and support from the affectionate attachment of my Parliament and people.

The Earl of MALMESBURY appealed to Lord Lyveden, who had a notice on the paper respecting the recall of Governor Darling, the Governor of Victoria, to defer his motion for a day or two, in consequence of the vote come to in the House of Commons on Thursday evening. Lord LYVEDEN consented to postpone the motion until Friday.

COMPULSORY CHURCH-RATES ABOLITION BILL.

The Earl of MALMESBURY moved the nomination of the select committee on this bill, comprising the names of the Lord Chancellor, the Archbishop of York, the Lord Privy Seal, the Dukes of Somerset, Richmond, and Buckingham, the Earls of Shaftesbury, Carnarvon, Romney, Beauchamp, Russell, and Kimberley, Viscount Halifax, the Bishops of London, Oxford, and Carlisle, and the Lords Delamere, Stanley of Alderley, and Westbury.

Several bills were advanced a stage, and the House adjourned at six o'clock.

THE MINISTERIAL CRISIS.

On Monday, the Earl of Malmesbury made a statement similar in substance to that of Mr. Disraeli in the Commons relative to the position of the Government.

In reply to Earl Grey, the LORD CHANCELLOR said the advice given by Mr. Disraeli to the Queen was based on considerations having reference to the principles on which the present Parliament was elected. He thought it must be admitted that the Parliament of 1865 was not fitted to express the opinion of the country on an appeal of such a kind.

Lord GREY vindicated the competence of Parliament to deal with any questions which might be brought before it, and utterly repudiated the idea as unconstitutional that because Parliament was not elected before certain questions had arisen, that they were therefore not qualified to decide on them.

The LORD CHANCELLOR explained that he had not denied the competency of Parliament, but simply vindicated the constitutional nature of the advice which had been tendered to the Queen.

In reply to the Duke of Somerset, the Duke of RICHMOND said the Government had made up their minds as to the course they intended to pursue.

It, of course, will depend upon the state of affairs whether that dissolution shall be a dissolution under the existing constituency, or whether it shall be a dissolution under the new constituency to be formed under the Reform Act (cheers); but her Majesty was graciously pleased to state that she would make no objection to either course being adopted by her advisers whenever they should see fit to tender to her Majesty that recommendation. (Cheers.)

Lord FAVERHAM, in a short speech, eulogised the course which Ministers had taken, and

Their Lordships adjourned at five minutes to six o'clock.

On Tuesday their Lordships had a short sitting, the main business being the discussion and second reading of the Friendly Societies Bill, for which the Earl of Lichfield is sponsor.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.

On Wednesday the Railway and Joint Stock Companies Bill was read a second time, and the County Financial Boards Bill (Mr. Wylde's) rejected by 154 to 46.

The Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Bill, as amended, was considered. The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said the bill required improvement in its machinery, and moved the adjournment of the debate for a week, and after some discussion this motion was agreed to.

The House adjourned at a quarter to six o'clock.

On Thursday Mr. REARDEN drew on himself a severe rebuke from the Home Secretary by asking whether he intended to relieve the Fenian Barrett; a question which Mr. HARDY, with the marked approbation of the House, declined to answer.

THE IRISH CHURCH.

There was the usual preliminary skirmish before going into committee on the Irish Church resolutions. On this occasion it was started by Mr. SURTEES, who moved that the oath taken by the Roman Catholic members before the alteration in 1866 be read at the table. An objection was taken on a point of order that, the oath being abolished, the privilege of having it read at the table had dropped; but the SPEAKER ruled that, as it had been taken by members of the present Parliament, it might be held to be still in force. Mr. GLADSTONE warmly opposed the motion on its merits, as having no aim but to embitter religious animosities and to narrow the privileges of Roman Catholic members. Mr. DISRAELI recommended its withdrawal, remarking that Roman Catholic members could only be equitably bound by the oath now in force, and pointing out to Mr. Surtees that if he wished to refer to an historical document now obsolete he would have an opportunity in his speech. The motion was negatived without a division.

The adjourned debate was then resumed by Sir M. BEACH, who opposed the resolutions. Sir W. Heathcote, Mr. Cave, and others took the same side. It was supported by Sir C. O'Loughlin, Mr. Cowper, Lord E. Cavendish, and Mr. Young.

Mr. BAXTER, after a quotation from Macaulay, said he would candidly confess he was not a defender of Established Churches at all.

The day for them had gone by, and he could not understand how any man of observation, having regard to what went on ecclesiastically in the United States of America, in the colonies, in Scotland, and even in the Church of England itself, could fail to see that writing on the wall which indicated that State Churches had had their day, and that in future they must give place to voluntary churches. The Prime Minister and those who followed him had raised the cry that the Church of England was in danger, but in doing so they had raised a completely false issue. All who had studied this question knew that Paley and all the moralists had laid down that if it was right that the State should support religion, the church which was supported should be the church of the majority. (Hear, hear.) The Church of England established in the affections of the English people could be defended as an Establishment, and he could not help thinking that the great statesman who attempted to tie up the Church of Ireland in the same bundle as the Church of England, was the greatest enemy of the Church of England. (Cheers.) There was probably no greater master of the English language than Mr. Goldwin Smith, and he, in one passage, had described the position of the Church in Ireland in words which could not be surpassed. He said the great and insuperable difficulty which the Church in Ireland had to contend against was this, that Christianity could not be propagated by unchristian institutions, and the church of a dominant minority, being unjust, could not be Christian. Statesmen on both sides of the House had come to the conclusion that it was necessary to establish religious equality. His right hon. friend had come to the conclusion that this should be done by disendow-

ment. And what was the alternative to this course? He was surprised to hear the right hon. gentleman say that the proposition of the right hon. member for South Lancashire was tantamount to the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church. But who proposed the endowment of the Roman Catholic Church? Why the noble lord the Secretary of State for Ireland, who said he wished to level upwards. (Hear, hear.) The question was between disendowment and indiscriminate endowment. (Hear, hear.) And he did not know any proposition more repugnant to the people of this country than this proposition to endow all sects in Ireland. (Cheers.) The endowment of all churches would intensify and exaggerate the difficulties against which they now contended. As to the argument that disendowment would injure Protestantism, he might point to Scotland, which was a great Protestant country. What had been the response of Scotland to the resolutions of the right hon. gentleman? (Cheers.) Within the last week throughout that country large meetings were held in support of the resolutions. (Hear, hear.) No such meeting had been held against them. Some petitions were presented against the disendowment of the Irish Church; but if ever an exception proved the rule this did, for these petitions came from the presbyteries of the Established Church of Scotland. He had paid a great deal of attention to Scotch politics and Scotch affairs, and he never remembered to have witnessed so much unanimity as he did during the last few weeks on this question; and that not alone among Dissenters, but also among Episcopalians. (Hear, hear.) If the poor in Ireland could support their priests, surely the Protestants, with their great wealth and great liberality, could support those who ministered to them. (Hear, hear.) With the permission of the House, he would read an extract from a Protestant publication, which showed what the Roman Catholics had done:

It has nearly 2,400 chapels, of which more than 2,000 have been built since 1800, at a cost of 3,500,000. In the same period it has established about 300 convents, monasteries, hospitals, colleges, &c., at a cost of 1,500,000, besides building 600 parsonage houses, 3,900 school-houses, and 70 Christian Brothers' schools, at a further cost of 650,000, and endowing these institutions and others, so that the total expenditure since the century opened cannot be much less than 7,000,000. The maintenance of the twenty-eight bishops, 2,527 parochial, and 500 regular clergy is estimated at 400,000 a year; the maintenance of the Church at over 100,000; and of hospitals, orphanages, colleges, &c., at 250,000. So that this Church, of four millions, confessedly poor, takes itself for its annual support at 750,000, besides large contributions to the Pope, the Propagation Society, and various minor missions, and without reckoning the considerable annual outlay upon new buildings. Chapels, indeed, are rising up on all hands, not from increase of worshippers, but to replace older and poorer structures; and where mass was celebrated in some miserable shed, or behind the shelter of a friendly rock, it is now performed under a Gothic roof and the full tones of the organ.

He would say to the Protestants of Ireland, "Go you and do likewise." (Cheers.) Then it was said what could be done with these temporalities? This difficulty had never appeared very great to his mind, for he believed the money belonged to the Irish people; and he did not care what was done with it, provided always that we were never placed in the same scrape by giving it to any denomination. (Hear, hear.) The money at present was doing harm instead of good—"Hear, hear," from Mr. Gladstone)—and he would give the money for any really useful purpose. There were schools to erect, harbours to improve, and roads to make, any one of which would be a legitimate channel into which to turn this money. (Hear, hear.) He hoped and believed that this religious grievance, called a sentimental grievance—this Church which separated the landlord and tenant—would cease to exist, and as soon as people were convinced that Parliament meant to do justice with a bold, fearless hand, they would turn away from the memories of the past, and become as loyal subjects as any of the inhabitants of England or Scotland. (Cheers.)

Mr. WALPOLE argued that the whole question of Church Establishments was involved ultimately, if not immediately, in the decision of Parliament, and pointed out that the supporters of the resolution failed to distinguish between the considerations which would lead to the establishment of a National Church and the circumstances under which disestablishment was justified. He maintained that the disestablishment of the Church would not remove discontent while the land question remained behind. He asked Mr. Gladstone to fill up important gaps in his previous statements—to tell the House, for instance, what institution he meant to substitute for the Irish Church; whether private property secured under the same Act of Settlement as Church property was to be dealt with on the same principles; what was to be done with the surplus when all vested interests had been satisfied; and how he proposed to make good to them all the rights to religious ministrations, education, and public which were secured to them by an Establishment. To the argument that confiscation was necessary to pacify Ireland, he replied that it would alienate our best friends, that it would drive the people into hostile camps, and would cut short the era of improvement and tranquillity which, till the wretched Fenian delusion, seemed to have dawned upon Ireland.

Considerable excitement was for the first time introduced into the debate by a vigorous protest from Lord ELCHO against the endeavours of the Opposition to stifle discussion by an unsparing use of its majority. Though listened to with much impatience on his own side, and provoking many interruptions, he went on to taunt Mr. Gladstone with having borrowed the traditional policy of the Liberals, of forcing on in Opposition measures which they had neglected in office, and argued with great warmth and earnestness against the time and substance of the motion. Every concession had been offered to the Roman Catholic Church, which was never satisfied. Both sides advocated religious equality in Ireland, but he denied that that principle existed in the constitution. Whether they adopted "levelling up" or "levelling down," it led either to the repeal of the Union or the total disestablishment of all Established Churches. But he was in favour of full religious toleration. There was a competition for the Irish vote—hence the present state of things. Another influence at

work was the power of voluntarism and the Liberation Society.

The House appears to forget that these are days of reconciliation upon this (the Opposition) side of the House, and that this is a general measure of reconciliation. (Hear, hear.) Well, the hon. member for Birmingham is a distinguished member of this powerful Liberation Society.

Mr. BRIGHT: I beg to say that I am not a member of the Liberation Society. (Laughter and cheers.)

Lord ELCHO: I congratulate the hon. gentleman upon this—that, being one of the most determined opponents of Establishments in this House, he is able to say that he has not joined a society with which he entirely sympathises. Now, what is the programme of the Liberation Society? (Question.) Their programme consists of four parts—Church-rates, Ireland, Scotland, and England. The first of these acts is played out. The second is being played out, and the members of the Liberation Society are too honest, and indeed too confident, to deny that they look with something like certainty to the completion of this programme. (Hear, hear.) The other cause which has brought about the present state of things is the exigency of party. (Hear, hear.) Will any man tell me that these causes, which are in force now, will be diminished by the passing of this measure? Does any man doubt that in the course of a few years some right hon. gentleman will get up, and, pointing to some one whom he had previously opposed, will say in reference to the Scotch Church, "Now is the hour! Behold the man!" (Laughter.) Am I speaking without book of what is before us? I know there are many gentlemen on this side of the House who, if they thought that by the vote they are about to give they would disestablish the Church in Scotland and in England, would shrink from giving that vote to-night, and I wish to point out to those hon. gentlemen what is marked out for them by the head of the voluntarism in this country. The aim and end of the voluntary movement was sketched by Mr. Miall ten years ago, and it is clear from what he said that the application of this principle to Ireland will react upon the Churches of Scotland and England. (Hear, hear.) Now, I think I am justified in saying that we shall see the same state of things brought about in this country that is now proposed for Ireland. (Cries of "Divide.") I hope in the remarks I have made I have said nothing which can give offence to my Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen. (Hear, hear.) I have done all in my power, saving always this great question, to promote their views for the extension of their religious liberty; but when I am asked to give my vote to root up that which has been established for 300 centuries—(loud and general laughter)—which has been established for three centuries, when I see that, logically and I believe practically, it will lead to the same results in this country, I regret that I must give my vote against the motion of my right hon. friend. (Cheers.)

It was just past midnight when Lord Elcho sat down, and for a moment or two the debate seemed on the point of collapsing. The two leaders were apparently waiting for each other, and neither would rise. Mr. J. Hardy stood up, but gave way immediately to loud cries for "Gladstone" and "Divide," and after a minute or two thus spent,

Mr. GLADSTONE rose, and after remarking on the extraordinary reluctance of Mr. Disraeli to take part in the debate, went on to point out that it had turned upon extraneous points, and that no one had attempted to defend the Irish Church on its merits. But this was not surprising, for it never had and never could discharge the duty of an Establishment—it never had been nor could be more than the Church of a fraction. Reminding the House that two policies had been submitted to it—one of procrastination, the other of immediate action—for neither side denied that the present state of things was unendurable—he pointed out that Mr. Disraeli's plan of joint endowment had been repudiated by members of his own Cabinet and by his followers. He declined distinctly to answer Mr. Walpole's questions referring entirely to the details of a measure which could only be brought in by the Executive Government, and as he had not lightly undertaken the task, and should not shrink from any responsibility in connection with it, he would not peril a great public interest by stepping now beyond the province of a private member. It was sufficient to say that the object of the motion was to do an act of justice to Ireland. Commenting on the charges of "conspiracy," he remarked that had time permitted it would be easy to prove that the Church party, which was represented to be plotting for this measure of disestablishment, was at the very moment working for Mr. Disraeli. But the supporters of the motion claimed to be in spontaneous alliance with the party all over the world which was striving to break down the system of religious ascendancy. He quoted opinions expressed in the Austrian Reichsrath to show how widespread were these opinions. As to the Church of England, he could not see how her national foundations, which were sufficiently broad, could be weakened by submitting her to the test of all the principles which went to justify a National Church, every one of which condemned the Church of Ireland. She had many enemies. There was the Liberation Society, which was a perfectly open manner of assault. But those also who would deprive her of all dignity by forbidding her to be the teacher of a defined and substantive religious system, and those who were so panic-stricken at the very idea of depriving her of State endowments, were not her best friends. Then there were extravagant claims made on her behalf; threats and menaces used regarding measures that had nothing to do with the religion of the Establishment, but touched only its temporal incidents.

We have been told, and that not many days ago, with reference to discussions now going on in the walls of this House, that there are 20,000 pulpits in England, and if we don't take care what we are about, these 20,000 pulpits will be used for some unknown and un-

defined but most formidable purpose, and that the day will return which was described by Hudibras,

When pulpit, drum ecclesiastic,
Was beat with flat instead of stick.

(Cheers.) I don't know what infatuation—for such it appears to me—induces people in authority or out of authority to believe such things, but I would not be responsible for the injury which may result from such vain imaginations. (Cheers.) But it is hardly vainer to assert that upon every sound and rational view there is any ground for saying that the course which we are taking tends to weaken the Church of England. We are attempting to remove what we think a bad Establishment, and to strengthen a good one. And now, sir, will the committee allow me to read a few words in which I think Lord Russell recently stated—(cries of "Oh, oh")—the conditions under which, according to the modes of modern thought and feeling, a religious Establishment may beneficially exist in the country? He says in his second letter to my right hon. friend:—

It is in my opinion a great benefit to the country when it can have its civil government and its prevailing religious opinions in alliance, the State ruling all orders of men in cases spiritual as well as temporal, according to certain articles of belief, and a State form of worship on which the pastors of the Church have come to an agreement with the governors of the State. Nor is it enough that the articles of belief and the form of worship adopted should be those of the sect which is a majority as compared with any other communion; they must be such as are not repugnant to the general sense of the community, such that the minority may be satisfied with their position and unwilling to break in upon the general harmony on account of the Church Establishment. Such has been in its outline the history of the Church of England.

I believe that to be the most discriminating and the most judicious delineation of the position the Church Establishment may usefully and beneficially occupy either in relation to the present tradition of the Church of England or for a very long time to come. But if I am to disclaim hostility to the Church of England, let me ask how many men there are in this House who would venture, supposing there was no difficulty in doing it, to disestablish the Church of England? I presume, of course, if the Church of England were disestablished, that her members must be dealt with upon principles not less favourable than those which there seems to be a general disposition to apply to the Church of Ireland. I am bound to say that Mr. Miall, who has been referred to by the noble lord, is disposed to go to such an extraordinary length in the tenderness and liberality of his dealing with the Church. (Cries of "Oh, oh!") Well, but why so impatient? (Cheers.) Have you read Mr. Miall? (Hear, hear.) Has that gentleman who interrupts read Mr. Miall? No, he has not; and yet—Lord GALWAY: I know Mr. Miall well; I have heard him in this House, and I know he is the enemy of all Establishments. (Cheers and cries of "Order.")

(Continued on Page 446.)

Postscript.

Thursday, May 7, 1868.

In the Commons yesterday the second reading of the Mines Assessment Bill was carried after a good deal of discussion. The Divorce and Matrimonial Causes Court Bill and the Cotton Statistics Bill passed through a similar stage. The House then resumed the consideration of the Artisans' and Labourers' Dwellings Bill as amended. Several amendments were introduced into the measure, and the bill was ordered to be further considered on Friday.

It has been urged upon Government by influential members, supporters as well as opponents, that their best policy will be to withdraw the distribution of seats schemes in the Irish and Scotch Reform Bills and to deal simply with the franchise. The suggestion, which has not been unfavourably received, is "under consideration."—*Owl*.

Both the Government and the Opposition whip circular for Thursday evening state that divisions will be taken on Mr. Gladstone's resolutions respecting the Irish Church question. In anticipation of an affirmative answer to the address to the Crown, the Suspensory Bill, consisting of three clauses, has been drawn and approved by the Attorney and Solicitor General for Ireland under the last administration.—*Owl*.

THE BISHOPS AND THE IRISH CHURCH.—A great meeting against Mr. Gladstone's resolutions was held yesterday afternoon in St. James's Hall. The Archbishop of Canterbury was in the chair; his Grace of York, with the Bishops of London and Oxford and a good many other bishops, were on the platform, the rural and metropolitan clergy were in the body of the hall; their wives and feminine well-wishers were in the galleries. Needless to say, the resolutions were condemned beyond hope of reprieve. The rectors were thoroughly earnest and thoroughly noisy, and, if not Christian, decidedly muscular, for they summarily ejected three persons who tried to make a disturbance by shouting the wrong way. Dean Stanley addressed them, and began to define his liberalism; but, at the mention of the word, they cheered him down, and his further attempt to explain was drowned in cries that in a less reverend assemblage would deserve to be called hootings. The Archbishop of York spoke more to their liking: "Some persons thought a great deal of a vote of the House of Commons," he observed, and their cheering endorsed the sneer. They received the most satisfactory assurances from the law lords as to the way in which the resolutions would be treated in the Upper House; and they broke up, hoarse and happy, with a benediction, and three cheers for the Queen.—*Star*.

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TO CORRESPONDENTS.

* * We are indebted to various friends for a number of letters and communications which it is impossible, in the present demands upon our space, to use.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, MAY 7, 1868.

SUMMARY.

By a majority of sixty-five, in a smaller House than that which voted before Easter for going into Committee, the Commons on Friday morning last passed the first of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, affirming the necessity of disestablishing the Irish Church Establishment, "due regard being had to all personal interests, and to all individual rights of property." This result had been confidently expected, but the increase of the majority was a surprise. The debate preceding the division had a limited interest, prior to the rising of Mr. Gladstone after midnight, but it was marked by an able defence of the Irish Church from Sir W. Heathcote and Mr. Walpole, and an admirable address by Mr. Baxter, from the Nonconformist point of view. The Opposition leader was conciliatory, but firm. His endeavours to quiet the fears of the English Church as to the difficulties which would follow disestablishment, should such a result become inevitable, were earnest, if not successful; and his warning that the system of religious ascendancy was breaking down throughout the world ought to be heeded in time by the champions of the Anglican Establishment. In concluding the debate, the Prime Minister spoke with unusual moderation, but declared that if the Irish Church was abolished the connection of Church and State in England would "become impossible." Mr. Disraeli takes his stand on the principle of royal supremacy as the only security for religious freedom, and the only safeguard of the civil rights of the nation. Apparently, in his view, this "idea" is almost as important as religion itself!

The Premier, however, was good enough to take note of this decisive defeat, which, he said, had altered the relations of the Government with the House of Commons; and, on his suggestion, an adjournment to Monday took place, in order that he might wait upon the Queen. The result of that interview was stated on the reassembling of the House. It is briefly that the resignation of the Government was not accepted by her Majesty, who conceded to the Prime Minister the power of dissolving Parliament, whenever the necessary business of the Session has been completed. Four times Mr. Disraeli has been under the necessity of offering explanations of the conditions under which the right of dissolution has been granted, but without giving satisfaction to the majority of the House, or making it clear to what extent the threat of dismissal is held over Parliament in connection with the Irish Church question. Notwithstanding his assurances, divisions are expected this evening on the second and third of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, and the Bill founded on them will, it seems, be more vigorously and elaborately opposed.

Encouraged in his "No Surrender" policy last week by Lord Derby, the Prime Minister has been this week further sustained by an imposing Episcopal and clerical demonstration. About the time that the last session of the Liberation Conference was being brought to a close, archbishops and bishops, deans, archdeacons, and other dignitaries of the Church,

and dukes, earls, and other members of the peerage, were gathering together in St. James's Hall to show their attachment to Church and State. The meeting, in point of numbers and influential representation was a great success. A full score of English and Irish bishops occupied the platform, and the body of the hall was filled less with laymen than by a close phalanx of clergymen. Has then the English Establishment made common cause with the doomed Irish Church? The Archbishop of York declared amid enthusiastic cheering that they had made up their minds on this great question—viz., Church and State in general—and not obscurely hinted that if the connection between them was to go, the monarchy might as well go with it. But such was not the spirit of all the speakers, whatever the feelings of their auditors.

We have neither space nor time to comment upon this remarkable demonstration as we should wish, but a few sentences from the *Daily News* will indicate some of its characteristic features:—"The parts were well cast. The Archbishop of Canterbury exhibited that bland dignity which makes him so excellent a type of the English ecclesiastic. The Bishop of Oxford's oratory suits the platform as well as the pulpit and the House of Lords. The Bishop of London displayed the simplicity and earnestness which give to his manner and address a peculiar fascination. The Archbishop of York showed the characteristic of the politic and secular Churchman of an earlier age. Dean Stanley's mild wisdom and large candour seemed somewhat out of place in an assembly bent on maintaining in Ireland the symbol of conquest and the memorial of ascendancy; and the interruptions which greeted and shortened his efforts to speak showed that the sense of incongruity which he might have been expected to feel was present to the minds of his audience. Turning from the performers to the drama, we observe as the most marked feature of the speeches of last evening, and the only thing common to them all, the very shy recognition given to the Irish Church Establishment. It could not be left out altogether; but it received a poor relation's acknowledgment. The Bishop of Oxford showed it no mercy. Reversing the precedent of Balaam, being asked to bless, he cursed. An Established Church, he says, affords the only means by which the poor of the land can be protected. He pours scorn on the idea of establishing two or three different kinds of religious teaching in a country; which is just what Mr. Disraeli and Lord Mayo propose to do in Ireland. While the Bishop of Oxford attacks Mr. Disraeli's policy, the Bishop of London defends Mr. Gladstone's, not, of course, in terms, but in fact. He says that if three-fifths or two-thirds of the revenues of the Church in Ireland are to be left to it, if it is to retain its parsonages and church buildings, as even Mr. Bright proposes, this is neither disestablishment nor disendowment, and it is absurd to give it these names. Why, then, the meeting in St. James's Hall? or, rather, why was the Bishop of London present at it? . . . Amid much irrelevant talk, two points of practical moment were made clear yesterday in St. James's Hall. The Bishop of Oxford proved the impossibility of Mr. Disraeli's policy of establishing the Roman Catholic Church in Ireland. The Bishop of London proved that Mr. Gladstone's plan is not the dreadful scheme which it is generally supposed to be. We are quite content with these effects of the demonstration. It will strengthen the hands of the Liberal leader, and be a great discouragement to the Government."

THE PREMIER BEHIND THE THRONE.

GOVERNMENT by a minority is found to involve contingencies little foreseen, and it is a significant fact that our constitutional system has been, if not endangered, seriously strained to enable a discredited Government to retain office for another six months at least, rather than to further the objects of "a tyrant majority." In that insolence which is a counterfeit of strength, the Prime Minister, who had been signally defeated on Thursday, shook over the victorious House of Commons on Monday the whip of a penal dissolution, which he had brought with him from Osborne. Though circumstances had created an entirely novel and eminently dangerous situation in political life, Mr. Disraeli's fertility of resource has not deserted him. After his overthrow last week he invented a new crisis; for it is impossible to see that the circumstances in which he then found himself differed substantially from those which obtained before the Easter recess. He then waited upon his Sovereign, and induced her Majesty to consent that the business of

the present Parliament should be wound up as speedily as possible, with a view to an early dissolution. As Mr. Lowe pointed out, the Premier simply obtained power to do what would be done in the ordinary course of events. But it was subsequently disclosed that the concessions wrung from her Majesty went much further. Mr. Disraeli obtained the authority of the Crown to appeal to the present constituencies if, as the Duke of Richmond expressed it, any "difficulty" should arise. For the time being—that is for some three months to come—the freedom of Parliament is threatened as it never has been in modern times. Precedent has now established the very grave position that a Government may compel the adoption of its policy by the threat of dissolution; and, by the unconstitutional advice of a weak and unscrupulous Minister, the Crown has been placed in the unseemly position of seeming to coerce the representatives of the people.

The relevancy of this grave charge is, we are sorry to believe, not materially affected by Mr. Disraeli's second series of statements on Tuesday night. He declined to offer any explanation of his ducal colleague's curious and candid statement, by alleging that he himself is the sole interpreter of the arrangement entered into with the Queen. Did the Duke of Richmond then invent his explicit story? Goaded at length by the cross-questioning of distinguished Liberals, and by their indignant comments on the novel relation established between the Crown and the House of Commons, the Prime Minister avowed that he had power to appeal to the present constituencies only in connection with the Irish Church question? But why that question? Mr. Disraeli, on the plea of facilitating the winding up of the Session, has consented to allow the second and third of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions to be carried under protest, without debate if not without division. But he still declares his intention of opposing the Bill which will be founded on them. In other words, the Premier submits to the decision of the House of Commons in form, but not in fact. He postpones the struggle to a period of the Session when it will be less easy, even if possible, for that assembly to enforce its will. He submits, at least without debate, to the resolutions, but not to the Suspensory Bill which is its corollary. The Commons are at liberty to discuss freely the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills, but if they persist in doing that which is provided by the second of Mr. Gladstone's resolutions—and for which alone it is to be passed—a penal dissolution is to hang over their heads. Again, Mr. Disraeli contends that it is beyond the competence of the present Parliament to decide whether the Irish Church shall be disestablished. Nevertheless, he holds out the threat of making an appeal from a condemned Parliament to a condemned constituency on this very question!

The very novel, quite unprecedented and dangerous situation, may be thus defined:—The Prime Minister, following the advice publicly given by Lord Derby, "the presiding genius" of the Cabinet, is resolved on no account to resign office. He is not unwilling, apparently, to pass a purely suffrage Bill for Scotland and Ireland, omitting the redistribution clauses so as to facilitate the close of the Session; to drop the principal Government measures, such as the Education Bill, and we suppose the Bribery Bill; and to endeavour to arrange for a general election under the new Reform Bill in the autumn. But he will acknowledge no further vote of the House of Commons relative to the Irish Church as binding on the Government. He will, obedient to the Earl of Derby's mandate, allow no Suspensory Bill, such as Mr. Gladstone has proposed, to reach the Lords. The Lower House must pass that measure at their peril. They must obey his behests, or Her Majesty will intervene for his protection by a penal dissolution. Such is the position of affairs created by a tortuous and self-seeking Minister—a position so serious that an independent Conservative like Mr. Liddell regards his retention of office as a slur on the honour of the Cabinet, and a disadvantage to the country! As the hon. member says, after the Prime Minister's frequent and latest explanations, "the name of the Sovereign has been used to retain in office a Government pledged to a particular line of policy condemned by the House of Commons," that assembly being subjected "to something in the nature of an *in terrorem* influence."

To complicate the difficulties of the case, while Mr. Disraeli wishes to remain in office, his opponents are unwilling to take his place, and carefully refrain from a vote of no confidence. Whether the crisis will terminate by another vote against the Cabinet, by the break-up of the Government in consequence of the retirement of any of its members, by the non-production of Mr. Gladstone's Bill, or by

further concessions to the House on the part of the Prime Minister, will, perhaps, be made more clear this evening. But, as the *Pall Mall Gazette* says, "the party in power has bought a short lease by selling a really valuable reversion for an old song." At all events, the Irish Church will gain nothing by these discreditable tactics.

GALLOWS LITERATURE.

LORD CAMPBELL'S Act has abated the nuisance of licentious and obscene literature which a few years ago was a national scandal. Such literature doubtless still exists; but it does not now obtrude itself upon public notice in shameless indecency. Even Holywell-street is no longer an Augean stable impassable to decent people. Its unsavoury name and reputation have disappeared, and it calls itself Booksellers'-row. But with the abatement of one nuisance another has come into existence, more widely diffused, and not less perilous to society. With the rise and rapid increase of cheap periodicals, the country is now deluged with newspapers and other serials specially devoted to the illustration and glorification of crime. The pictures and books made penal by Lord Campbell's Act incited to the breach of the seventh commandment. The publications to which we refer reverse the whole decalogue, and have as their moral, "Thou shalt kill"; "Thou shalt steal"; "Thou shalt take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." These Satanic lessons are not, indeed, formally inculcated; but the teaching is not the less real and forcible because it is implied rather than asserted. The heroes and heroines of these romances are burglars, pirates, highwaymen, and pickpockets. Their titles indicate their contents—"Tyburn Dick, the Boy King of the Highwaymen"; "Admiral Tom, King of the Boy Buccaneers"; "Hawke, the Burker"; "The Boy Pirate."

A recent number of the *Stationer*, a periodical devoted to the interests of the bookselling trade, contained an article indignantly denouncing these infamous publications, and giving the names of fourteen weekly serials of this character which the editor had bought in a street adjoining the Mansion House. He says, "The language is vulgar in the extreme, coarse innuendoes abound, blasphemies are frequent, libertinism and frailty are prominently referred to, and we believe that there is scarcely a page on which a murder, an execution, a highway robbery, a burglary, or some kindred offence, is not alluded to, whilst the interludes are filled up with the details of drunkenness or debauchery."

We have been at some pains to test the truth of these charges. They are only too just. Page after page is filled with the same exciting narratives of vice and crime, which either escape punishment through the skill and daring of the perpetrators, or if justice does overtake the criminal, it is made the occasion of a public ovation, and he goes to the dock or to the gallows followed by the applauding shouts of an admiring crowd.

It must not be imagined that this Newgate literature works its own antidote, exciting disgust by its foulness. We have too many proofs of its pernicious influence. The police-courts furnish most painful illustrations of the mischief it is effecting. Not long since a boy was shot by his schoolfellow when "playing at highwaymen." At the inquest the Rev. Mr. Scott, of the Mission Church, Commercial-road, stated the boys had been reading "the vile romance of Dick Turpin." A few months ago a lad, fourteen years of age, employed as a page at the West End, was arrested for stealing his master's cash-box. Several other robberies were proved against him. In his drawer were found "The Exploits of Dick Turpin," "The Adventures of the Road," "The Boy Pirate," and similar publications. About the same time a number of errand-boys and apprentices at Paddington were convicted of a series of thefts from their employers. It was found that, emulating the desperadoes of these tales, they had formed themselves into an organised gang and taken names from their favourite heroes—one was Dick Turpin, another Claude Duval, a third Captain Kydd, and so on. And their depredations extended over the whole neighbourhood. A few weeks ago, under the same influence, a youth of eighteen, the son of a small tradesman in Clerkenwell, having exhausted all the means of plunder which his shallow wits could invent, succeeded in getting possession of two pounds. With this money he invited two or three prostitutes to a drunken debauch, in imitation of Captain Macheath and Claude Duval. Having thus squandered his last penny, he threw himself over Westminster-bridge, leaving behind him a

melodramatic letter of farewell written in the style affected by these infamous publications. It would be premature to affirm positively that the youthful criminals recently guilty of burglary and attempted murder in Seething-lane were under similar influences. But it can hardly be doubted. Mere children of thirteen and fifteen years of age would never have perpetrated such a crime, under such circumstances, but for the influence of examples like those we have described. The report of the Religious Tract Society, commenting on such facts as these, may well say, "There can be no question that the influence of all this literature, which unsuspectingly insinuates itself into many kitchens and warehouses, is even more injurious than the gladiatorial shows of ancient Rome, or the bull-baiting and dog-fighting of former days in England. It excites and strengthens every evil passion of the nature, and is, in fact, the cause of the spread of crime, especially amongst the juvenile part of the community, and of its comparative immunity."

The circulation of this gallows literature is very large. As we have already said, not fewer than thirteen or fourteen distinct tales of this criminal class are published every week. The *Stationer*, an unimpeachable authority on such matters, says, "We know that not less than 60,000 of each part of one of these tales is printed." The aggregate of the whole, therefore, must be immense. The readiness of news-vendors, tobacconists, and small tradesmen in the back-streets to circulate this poison is explained by a further statement in the same paper. "The trade in these publications is eagerly sought after by the retailer, who only pays fivepence per dozen, thirteen as twelve, with permission to exchange all unsold copies." With so large a profit allowed to the retailer, we cannot hope to prevent the offering for sale of this class of literature. What, then, can be done?

Private influence may do something. Let each head of a family guard against the introduction of this poison into his household as he would guard against the plague or the small-pox. In innumerable ways the public may discountenance and help to repress the continued sale of publications which are altogether mischievous and are a scandal to our country.

Something, too, may be done by the diffusion of a wholesome and healthful literature. Within the last few years many penny weekly publications have been started of a moral and beneficial tendency. It is to be regretted that so few continue to be issued in this form. The economy and convenience to a publisher of issuing monthly parts, instead of weekly numbers, is sufficient to account for the change. But the artisan or errand boy who can spare his penny a week will often grudge his fivepence or sixpence a month, and, as a consequence, a monthly serial cannot compete with these publications. The *Leisure Hour* and the *Sunday at Home*, however, are still published in penny weekly numbers, and may be seen holding their ground, in the shops of news-vendors, side by side with "Dick Turpin" and "Jack Sheppard." Our reviewing columns will show that we are by no means indiscriminate eulogists of the publications of the Religious Tract Society, but we are happy to give to these excellent periodicals our entire commendation.

It is difficult to see how legislative action can reach this pernicious literature. Censorship of the press can never be attempted in England. Anything that would interfere with the "liberty of unlicensed printing" would do immensely more harm than good. But as we repress offensive and pestilential nuisances, punish libels, and make obscenity penal, we might do something to put down by law such immoralities as these. When Parliament can find time, from exposing the dodges of Mr. Disraeli and carting away the rubbish of the Irish Church Establishment, to deal with this evil, they will render a service to public morality and avert a peril from the nation.

"BOZ" RETURNED FROM HIS TRAVELS.

"Boz" has paid his visit to the United States, and the journey, which gave birth to much curious speculation as to how it would fare with the distinguished author, is now an accomplished fact. He has conquered the American people. He has made them forget the "American Notes" and "Martin Chuzzlewit," or rather, laugh away the irritation which those amusing volumes provoked. He has recouped himself for the immense sums which he lost by the absence of an international copyright. He has learnt to form a true and wise estimate of the virtue and greatness of trans-Atlantic England. He has gathered materials which, in his

experienced hands, and with the ripened moderation of his versatile genius, will enable him to sweep away some of those cobwebs of prejudice which John Bull still mistakes for a finely-spun web of common sense. He has, moreover, realised to the letter the prediction which we ventured to make when he left these shores, that he would prove an ambassador of peace and good will between the two countries. He has travelled many thousands of miles in the United States, and wherever he has gone he has borne with him a message of peace and reconciliation. Some may think that the message was a late one, but, at all events, it has proved effective. A better understanding between England and America exists to-day than would have existed if Mr. Dickens, instead of taking ship on board a Cunard steamer, had quietly remained in his pretty rural home at Gad's Hill.

What Mr. Charles Dickens has done in America, and what he is in American eyes, will be apparent to any one who takes the trouble to read the six columns which the *New York Tribune* devotes to the proceedings of the press dinner held in his honour in the city of New York. The leading representatives of American journalism, with one notable exception, were all present on the occasion. The exception was Mr. James Gordon Bennett, of the *New York Herald*, for an explanation of the causes of whose absence our readers, if they are curious, should apply to Mr. Jefferson Brick. Mr. Horace Greeley, the veteran editor of the *Tribune*, the historian of the great civil war, and the man of whom Mr. Bright said that he was the first journalist in the United States, and perhaps the first journalist in the world, presided at the banquet. Mr. Greeley's speech—indeed, every speech—showed how Mr. Dickens, from an early period of his brilliant career, had intertwined himself with the very fibres of the American heart. Mr. Greeley had, like every one of us, his reminiscences to relate. When a young printer, starting a weekly newspaper—an enterprise which he describes as "audacious"—he looked out for materials in which to make an engaging appearance. He searched among the London magazines, and in a copy of the now extinct "Monthly" found a story which was then entitled "Delicate Attentions," but which has since been christened "Mr. Watkins Tottle." That story he reproduced thirty-four years ago in the first number of the first journal with which he was ever editorially connected, and we need not say that it was from the pen of Charles Dickens. "When I came to visit Europe," continued the pleasant gossip, "now seventeen years ago, one of my most pleasant experiences there, and one of my pleasantest recollections of Europe, is that of buying in the farthest city I visited—the city of Venice, on the Adriatic—an Italian newspaper, and amusing myself with what I could not read—a translation of 'David Copperfield,' wherein the dialogue between Ham and Pegotty, with which I was familiar in English, was rendered into very amusing Italian." These recollections sufficiently illustrate the cosmopolitan character of Mr. Dickens's genius, but yet they would be incomplete if we did not add another anecdote narrated at the banquet by a western editor, who said that twenty-eight years ago he saw a flat-boat coming down the Mississippi, with "Samuel Veller" painted in large letters on its side, and that, on asking the captain whose name it bore, he replied it was probably that of the candidate for Congress in the then new territory of Indiana. Another western editor, perhaps speaking with a good-natured spice of jealousy towards the Atlantic States, declared that the "American Notes" was an exceedingly true and even good-natured book; and Mr. G. W. Curtis, an American litterateur of the highest reputation, very sensibly agreed that Mr. Dickens, as an honest observer, "was obliged to hear, and see, and report many things that were not pleasant nor flattering"; while, with genuine humour, he said "he did not remember that Mr. Emerson and Mr. Hawthorne represented England as altogether a paradise, and John Bull as a saint without blemish."

These were among the pleasantries of the banquet. But the demonstration had its graver and more useful side. Mr. Dickens of course acknowledged in graceful and eloquent language, the generous kindness and hospitality with which he had been received by the American nation. Passing over some rather high-flown sentiments, which the *Pall Mall Gazette* could not resist the temptation to satirize, it is enough for us to know that a man wielding the power for good which the author of "Pickwick" has always wielded pledges himself that henceforth he will strive to be in England as faithful to America as to Eng-

land herself. The spirit of the same sentiment was expressed by the most distinguished American speakers. They buried the tomahawk, consigned the past to oblivion, and accepted in their guest the genuine type of an Englishman. "Wherever," said the autocrat of the breakfast table, "he may be, whatever fate befall, his name will be a kind of good tidings. It will always have a pleasant Christmas sound. Old ocean bear him safely over! English hedges welcome him with the blossoms of the May! English hearts, he is ours as he is yours." These words of fraternal goodwill are as much addressed to England as to Charles Dickens. They prove that the best men of America, like the best men of this country, feel that they have sprung from a common stock—that they are brothers. Do we not feel that Mr. Cyrus Field, the founder of the Atlantic Cable—the inspiration of whose great purpose was a desire to render war between the two nations, for ever impossible—is as truly an Englishman as if he had been born within the sound of Bow Bells? He has been doing in England what Charles Dickens has done in America, and combined they are causing the two kindred nations to realise their blood-relationship, and inspiring them with the conviction that war would be fratricide and hostile rivalry, a scandal and disgrace to the common household.

PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDINGS.

(Continued from Page 443.)

Mr. GLADSTONE: The noble lord has not read Mr. Miall's proposal; but if the noble lord sets any value upon the information, the principles upon which Mr. Miall proposes to deal with the English Church Establishment are far more liberal than those which I have endeavoured to sketch in the proposal to deal with the Irish Church Establishment. It is quite plain upon any rational calculation, if in endeavouring to satisfy suspicion I am to go into a region so visionary—(a laugh)—it is quite plain, I say. Well, the Chancellor of the Exchequer may be quite ready for such an emergency ("Hear, hear," and laughter), and considering the rapidity with which his political evolutions have been executed on certain occasions, there is very little doubt that he would be prepared. (Loud cries of "Oh, oh!") But the effect of the disestablishment of the Established Church would amount to saying to that Establishment, "You are to go forth free to do what you please, a perfectly organised religious body, with the value of about 80,000,000, or 90,000,000, in your pockets to start with in the world." (Hear, hear, and laughter.) I believe that would be very nearly the form which, *mutatis mutandis*, the plan for the disestablishment of the Church of England would assume. But I am not so ambitious, even disclaiming any other grounds, to think of such a plan.

He denied that the question was brought forward for party purposes. They claimed to be guided by great public interests, and nothing they had done made it difficult for the Government, so far as they were concerned, to continue in their offices. ("Oh," and cheers.) The interests involved in the condition of Ireland were of such a character as to throw into the shade such questions, though he did not pretend to view the existence of the present Government in many of its departments with any special satisfaction. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) It was the Government which spontaneously put forward their policy for Ireland, and with singular maladroitness proposed to establish a Roman Catholic University, to be charged upon the exchequer of this country, and were willing to deal with the question of religious equality provided they could do so by means of new endowments. They could only oppose such a policy with a policy of their own. In Ireland peace was only secured by a display of the overwhelming power of England. The Irish Secretary told them there existed in a large portion of the country a wide amount of sympathy with Fenianism, and a disposition to join in it on the first emerging hope that it might succeed. He was not willing to be responsible for the continuance of that state of things. To the objection that disestablishment would alienate the Protestants, he protested warmly against the doctrine of exclusive loyalty, fed by exclusive privileges, and applying the experience of our colonial administration, he predicted that a policy of equal justice would develop the "British party" until it included every sane and intelligent man in Ireland. Mr. Gladstone then referred in terms of measured severity to Lord Derby's recent speech in the House of Lords.

We have been told that elsewhere these propositions have been laid down:—First, it has been said that the resolutions now before the committee call upon her Majesty to decline the performance of duties imposed upon her Majesty in her executive capacity by Act of Parliament. That is much the least important of the accusations made, because it happens that there is not a syllable of foundation for it. The resolutions now before the committee have not the slightest reference to anything to be done by her Majesty in her executive capacity, excepting simply the concession which we pray may be graciously made to us for permission to enter on the consideration of a certain legislative measure respecting the Church of Ireland. That, therefore, I pass by, as an assertion of small importance. The next announcement is, that if this House shall think fit to take a certain course it will produce irreconcilable hostility between the two Houses of Parliament. Sir, in my opinion, that is neither a wise nor a decorous intimation—(cheers)—to be made even by the youngest, even by the least experienced of all the members in either House of Parliament; and that it should proceed from the quarter to which it is ascribed—that from that

quarter should proceed the gratuitous supposition that something is to be done here, which is to produce this irreconcilable animosity, appears to me to betoken a woful aberration of judgment. (Loud cheers.) But this is not all. Furthermore, a plan is set up which is to direct the Government and to direct the Crown in the discharge of their duties, and the Ministers are told that if the House of Commons—this is not an actual offence that is to be visited upon us, but one which it is supposed we may commit—if the House of Commons shall adopt any address to her Majesty in conformity with the resolutions now before us, the duty of the Ministers, as they are compassionately informed by the presiding genius—(cheers and laughter)—will be to advise her Majesty to withhold her assent. And then, lastly, supposing that even that should not be found a measure completely successful—supposing any factious opposition to the Government should appear—that is to say, supposing the majority of the representatives of the people—(cheers)—should think it their duty to claim for themselves the privileges and the powers, and the duties inseparable from those powers, which they have inherited from their forefathers as much as any peer of Parliament has inherited his rank—(loud cheers)—then her Majesty's Government are on no account to resign before the year 1869, because an immediate dissolution is impossible, or nearly impossible. (A laugh.) Sir, detailed comment upon these propositions is not necessary; but I think the right hon. gentleman opposite knows enough of this House to be aware what effect they will produce upon its mind. (Hear, hear.) And yet I must observe, the whole of these propositions, which I have stated in unexaggerated language, were delivered in the faces and hearing of the Ministers of the Crown, and by those Ministers of the Crown were either approved or unrebuked. (Cheers.) Now, Sir, in these circumstances, though I have said many words are not necessary, yet a few may be useful; and I for one, speaking as a member of Parliament, and not presuming to commit any other man, give fair notice that in the discharge of those duties which the constitution assigns to me as a representative of the people, I will not upon any condition consent to receive from another place the word of command. (Loud and prolonged cheering.) Sir, I earnestly hope that the resolution before the House will be accepted by a large and decisive majority. We are engaged in a great and a solemn work. We are about to confer, as we, at least on this side of the House hope, a great boon upon the people of Ireland, yet a boon strictly their due, because strictly confined within the limits of equity and justice. It is a mistake to suppose, Sir, that we have ever stated or thought that the settlement of the Church question in Ireland was to be a panacea for all the evils of that country. The word has been charged upon us; but I know not that it has ever been used by anyone among us. We are well aware that the evils of Ireland are inveterate evils. (Hear, hear.) Even in the case of a battle or conflagration, the mischief which a moment can do may take months or years to repair. But here for centuries a perverse ingenuity has been at work to deprive and mar the social and political state of Ireland. Long must be the time, even after a bold hand is applied to the remedies needful for Ireland, until the list of those remedies in which I gladly admit progress has been made, is completed—long must be the time before the fulness of the happy result can be attained. But in the work on which we have entered I trust and believe we shall persevere, accepting the measure which we now contemplate, and the acceptance of which we urge upon Parliament, not indeed as the whole, but as a vital and essential measure of that policy which is needed in order to bring Ireland into the condition of being a great part of the strength and a great part of the glory of this empire, instead of being, as in some respects neither few nor small she has been, our danger and our reproach. (Loud and long-continued cheering.)

Mr. DISRAELI, who was received with cheers, mingled with calls for Mr. Bright, commenced by explaining that he had not risen before Mr. Gladstone because the two previous speakers had argued on his own side. He objected to disestablishment—first, because it would be injurious to Ireland by reviving old animosities, and he remarked that hitherto no ground of objection had been taken to the Church but the abstract assertion that it was unjust to the people of Ireland. But he showed that it was not unjust to the whole people, and, being only a partial injustice, it was not susceptible of so easy a solution as total disendowment. Besides, its abolition might be equally unjust to other portions of her Majesty's subjects. He objected to it, too, because it interfered with the rights of property, and if this was to be done on the allegation that the Church did not fulfil the purposes for which it was created, the process could not stop there. Look to the great companies in the city of London—the Fishmongers, Drapers, and Merchant Taylors—which did not fulfil the purposes for which they were appointed. Why, on the same principle, should not their estates be confiscated? Again, Government opposed the resolution because they believed that the necessary influence, if this policy was carried into effect in Ireland, would be to make the connection between Church and State in England impossible. (Hear.)

Now, Sir, the right hon. gentleman admits that Mr. Miall, who has been so often quoted in this debate, is an eminent man, and he fairly represents the Liberation Society. Well Mr. Miall does not for a moment disguise his views on this subject, and it would be impossible for him to do so, because I have here in my hand an extract from the last number of the *Nonconformist*, and I will briefly refer to Mr. Miall's language, who I have no doubt conscientiously holds the opinions he expresses, and desires to propagate them. I wish to show what is the view of the party Mr. Miall represents. He says:—

The Irish Church question will not be finally disposed of before the public mind will be prepared to entertain proposals in reference to the Scotch Kirk and the Church of England. As it has been with one Establishment, so, probably, it will be with others; their time is fixed. An impulse will be given unexpectedly, and from an unexpected quarter. (Cheers.) Mr. Gladstone is treading on the verge of a wide region of change.

(Hear, hear.) I am not introducing these remarks for the sake of controversy, nor because I wish to thrust

Mr. Miall's name into the debate, but his name having been quoted every night during this discussion I refer to his remarks as a commentary on the statement of the right hon. gentleman, that no man sitting in this House can think for a moment of proposing the separation of Church and State in England. "But then," says the right hon. gentleman, "Mr. Miall's views are of the mildest character." (A laugh.) He would rather enrich than plunder the Church. He is prepared to let them keep 80,000,000, of their property." Now, in my view of the necessity and advantage of the connection between Church and State, I am not reconciled to the change by the information that the Church, dissociated from the State, is to be a very rich Church. In the first place, I cannot bring myself to believe that the people of this country would ever consent to the severance of that tie, and at the same time agree that the Church of England should retain the property which it now possesses. (Hear.) It would be an *imperium in imperio*, which to my mind would render the government of this country almost certainly difficult, perhaps impossible, and, therefore, I think we must dismiss from our minds the notion that any such arrangement could ever be tolerated by a British Parliament. But we may have a very powerful and a very dasturbing element in our society even without these eighty millions, which Mr. Miall and the right hon. gentleman opposite are quite ready to concede to the Church free from its connection with the State. That is a point to which, had the time been more opportune, I should have called the serious consideration of the committee. Hon. gentlemen have spoken as if a free Church in a free State were a very progressive act; but it should be remembered that the Church has been free before this, and hitherto those who have preceded us in this country have thought that our civilisation was advanced and secured rather by preventing the Church from enjoying that absolute and unrestricted freedom which we are now told will be the source of so many blessings. It was because we wanted something which should save us from what my right hon. friend Mr. Walpole called fanatical enthusiasm and sacerdotal tyranny that the wise men who built up the realm of England devised the doctrine of the Royal supremacy, which is, in fact, giving the control of ecclesiastical affairs to laymen, and which is at present the only security for our religious liberty, and the great security for our civil rights. (Cheers.) This is a point which has not been touched upon, but it is one, I believe, gravely affecting the interests of the people of this country.

It was said public opinion was in favour of the policy of Mr. Gladstone. But he differed from that view; when questions of fundamental interest in the Constitution of this country arise, it is not in our opinion to ascertain what the opinion of a nation like England is in such haste and by such superficial means; but the idea of the Royal supremacy—our only security for religious liberty, and a great safeguard of our civil rights—was deeply engrained in the public mind of England, and it was upon such considerations as this, and not on a few local abuses, that the question of an Established Church must be finally decided. He explained, in answer to some complaints made in the course of the debate, that he had not used the word "Romanist" in an offensive sense, and vindicated his statement as to the combination of Ritualists and Romanists. He concluded by saying—

In reply to the complaint of the right hon. member for South Lancashire, all I can say is that I made the remarks without meaning any offence to any person. (Hear, hear.) It is my belief there is a party in the English Church of extreme opinions who advocate the disunion of Church and State. (Hear, hear.) I was informed by an authority in which I can place implicit credit that some leading members of that party were in hearty communication or combination (I never used the word "conspiracy") with those I have described as Romanists without any offence. (Hear, hear.) As to my statement whether there was on the last division an open confederacy or not, the House will judge. (Ministerial cheers.) And when the right hon. gentleman now comes forward with a new policy, proposing, be it right or wrong, a revolution in the country by disavowing the Church from the State, and boasting of the majority by which he could carry it into effect, the House will judge whether it was fair for me to say he represented the policy which I have reprobated. (The right hon. gentleman resumed his seat amidst loud cheers from the Ministerial benches.)

Sir F. HENYATH having withdrawn his first amendment, the committee divided on the first resolution, and the numbers were—

For the resolution	330
Against it	265

Majority against the Government .. 65

The announcement of the numbers was received with loud cheers by the Opposition, and when it had died away,

Mr. DISRAELI rose and said: The division having altered the relations of the Government with the House, it is necessary that we should consider our position, and I therefore move that the House at its rising adjourn until Monday.

The cheering was renewed at this statement, and, when the other business on the paper had been disposed of, the House adjourned at five minutes past three o'clock until Monday.

THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

On Monday the expectation of the Ministerial explanations attracted the largest and most excited House of the session. Long before the Speaker took the chair every seat was occupied, the galleries were filled, and the crush of peers and other "distinguished strangers" was so great that the passages and the corridors could scarcely contain the overflowings. After some preliminary business had been disposed of,

Mr. DISRAELI rose to state the course the Government proposed to take after the division of last

Thursday. Prefacing it by a long retrospect of the circumstances under which this Government took office, and of the transactions of last year, he argued from them that, as this Parliament had been elected under the influence of his political opponents, Lord Derby might constitutionally have dissolved it when he came in, and again after the Reform Bill of last year had been carried, but that on both occasions he had waived that right. And to show that there had been nothing in the general conduct of affairs by the present Government to forfeit that right, he reviewed at length the administration of the Home, Foreign, and Irish departments, taking particular credit for the result of the Abyssinian expedition. Under these circumstances, when so startling a change as the disestablishment of the Irish Church was proposed at a few days' notice, the Government, he maintained, was not unreasonable in meeting it with a motion for delay. The House having determined to consider the resolutions, the Government opposed them on various grounds. They believed them to embody a retrograde policy, which would revive old animosities, which would endanger property, and would divorce the principle of religion from authority. The policy, too, when applied to Ireland must be extended to England, where the consequences would be more serious. The separation of Church and State, here would create an *imperium in imperio*—the Church might become more powerful than the State and might either break up into endless sects and schisms, or be absorbed by the traditions and discipline of the Church of Rome. In any case the Royal supremacy—the guarantee of our religious liberty, and the main security for our civil rights—would have disappeared. The House, however, having decided in favour of this policy, the Government had come to the conclusion that the vote of Thursday did not weaken their title to a dissolution. In the first place, there could be no conclusive legislation this year; next, the question had never been submitted to the constituencies; and, finally, the Government believed that the opinion of the nation differed entirely from that of the House of Commons. Defending the Government from the insinuation of unduly clinging to office, Mr. Disraeli stated that both in 1852 and 1859 representations had been made to the Government not to resign after the divisions which were fatal to them; but that Lord Derby having left the decision to him, he had refused to remain in office after those adverse divisions, and he warned the House that the taunts of Government by a minority must ultimately recoil on itself. After a long prefatory statement on these points, Mr. Disraeli went on to narrate the results of his interview with her Majesty. He had first of all advised her Majesty, with the full concurrence of his colleagues, to dissolve this Parliament, but he had at the same time placed the resignation of their offices at her Majesty's disposal. After taking time for consideration, the Queen, at a second interview, had declined to accept his resignation, but had signified her readiness to dissolve this present Parliament as soon as the state of public business permitted. Under these circumstances, Mr. Disraeli went on to say that he had advised the Queen that, if every effort were made to expedite public business, and the House of Commons would cordially co-operate with the Government, there might be a dissolution in the autumn of this year. Under these circumstances, Mr. Disraeli intimated that, though he should give an emphatic negative to the second and third resolutions, he would not enter into any protracted debate or formal division upon them, holding them to be corollaries of the first, and he promised to give Mr. Gladstone the very first Government night to go on with the debate. But to Mr. Gladstone's motion to postpone the orders of the day until the resolutions had been disposed of, he added that he should give a most unqualified opposition.

Mr. GLADSTONE, after a brief reference to Mr. Disraeli's historical retrospect—to the exact accuracy of which he was far from assenting—and pointing out that in what he described as the "spending departments" the Government had no claim to the confidence of the House—went on to protest emphatically against Mr. Disraeli's constitutional doctrine that every Minister carried in his pocket a right to dissolve a Parliament not elected under his influence. There were no precedents for inflicting such a penal dissolution except those set by the Governments of Lord Derby in 1852 and 1859; and to obviate such a right he maintained that two conditions were necessary—there should be an adequate necessity of public policy, and a reasonable prospect that the country would reverse the vote of the House of Commons. But in this, as in 1852 and 1859, the Conservative Government had advised dissolution, not so much on any public interest as to determine the question of its own existence, and there was no precedent, he repeated, in which a Government had resorted to a dissolution against such overwhelming majorities. He pointed out, too, that, though Mr. Disraeli had advised an immediate dissolution, he had not long ago denied the moral competence of the present constituencies to decide this question. The fate of the Government, in the first instance, was in its own hands, but the duty of the Opposition was clear; not to recede from the course on which it had entered, but to push on the resolutions, and to pass the Suspensory Act, which would not only declare the mind of the present Parliament, but prepare the way for the action of the next. On that point Mr. Gladstone stated, amid loud cheers from the Opposition, no kind of covenant or compromise would be made with the Government, but, accepting Mr. Disraeli's offer to give him the earliest possible night for

resuming the debate, he intimated that he should not persevere with the motion of which he had given notice to postpone the other business until the resolutions had been disposed of.

It was supposed that the subject would now drop, and that the orders would be at once proceeded with, and under that impression a great many members went off to dinner. The House partially filled again when it was known that Mr. Lowe had commenced a slashing attack on the Government. His argument was that the course taken by the Government was disrespectful to the House of Commons, whose decisions were treated as null and void, the appeal to the new constituencies being only such as must in any case take place whether the Government had or had not been defeated. It was monstrous that the House should be asked, not for a few weeks while the necessary business was got through, and while preparations were made for a dissolution, but for nine or ten months at the very least, to place the whole government of the country in the hands of persons who neither trusted Parliament nor were trusted by it.

After some remarks from Mr. NEWDEGATE in defence of the Government, and from Mr. AYRTON and Mr. BOUVIERE severely criticising their conduct, Mr. BRIGHT animadverted, in strong and severe language, on the humiliating attitude of the Government, and maintained that it was merely for the sake of prolonging his own term of office that Mr. Disraeli made this outrageous demand on the indulgence of Parliament. But the Government had no right, he asserted, to a dissolution; and they had, therefore, no claim to remain in office where they could carry nothing of their own—but a sixpenny income-tax. No decent pretence had been offered for departing from the constitutional course of resigning after such signally adverse votes, for the Irish and Scotch Bills could be more easily passed by Governments really friendly to reform—and the only result would be that the Irish Church could not be disestablished until 1870.

Mr. DISRAELI wound up the conversation, and, replying to an observation of Mr. Lowe, he explained that her Majesty had given her unqualified assent to a dissolution without any reference to old or new constituencies. He assured the House that the best legal authorities were clear that arrangements might be made for a dissolution in November, and if the Boundary Bill were passed early in June, he would bring in a short bill which would facilitate the dissolution. To another remark of Mr. Lowe, that the late division showed the House to have no confidence in the Government, he replied that many gentlemen who had voted in the majority had assured him that they did not regard it in that light, and, in language very nearly approaching a challenge, he called on those who agreed with Mr. Lowe to propose a direct vote of want of confidence, which could be argued and decided on that plain issue. Answering a question from Mr. Cardwell, he fixed Thursday for resuming the debate on the resolutions, if to-night should be engaged.

The income-tax resolutions were agreed to in Committee of Ways and Means, but not without a renewed protest from Mr. Gladstone against the extravagant expenditure of the Government.

Some other business was disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past eleven o'clock.

THE MINISTERIAL STATEMENT.

On Tuesday evening, Mr. GLADSTONE, who was received with loud cheers from the Opposition, drew attention to the state of incertitude as to the power of dissolution in which Mr. Disraeli, as he alleged, had left the House. Founding himself upon the singularly candid statement of the Duke of Richmond in the Upper House on the previous evening, that Ministers were authorised by the Crown to use dissolution as a means at any time of terminating any difficulties in which they might be placed, Mr. Gladstone set forth reasons for demanding whether that was also Mr. Disraeli's idea of his position; for, said he, the Prime Minister had not plainly conveyed that notion to the Lower House even in his second statement on Monday, though that was rather more precise than his first. In conclusion, Mr. Gladstone asked whether it was intended to signify that the licence to dissolve was applicable to all political difficulties of the Government under any circumstances—a sense of resistance to which assumption he had conveyed all through his speech. The PRIME MINISTER was apparently not quite prepared for this interrogation, but he palpably endeavoured to show that he was not actually unready; for, assuming an air of candour, he took a little time in premising that there ought to be no misunderstanding on the point; and then having, during some roundabout talk, seemingly chosen the phrase that suited him, he stated that he had recommended to her Majesty a "dissolution of Parliament as soon as the state of public business would permit." As to what the Duke of Richmond had said he knew nothing about it; and any one who wished to ascertain what that noble duke had said ought to have applied to him for an explanation. This was said in a rather dashing and defiant manner, and brought a burst of applause from his followers. However, everybody was not satisfied with a somewhat mystical reply; and so Mr. BOUVIERE, in his assumed character of arbitrator of the House, demanded, as authoritatively as he could, whether it was to the new constituencies or to the old that an appeal was to be made. Mr. SANDFORD, with a side-sneer at his nominal leader, talking comparatively of the statement of the Duke of Richmond being that of a straightforward English gentleman, advised the House not to permit any

interference with the right they now possessed of altering the Scotch and Irish Reform Bills at their pleasure. Mr. CARDWELL solemnly adjured information as to whether dissolution was an indefinite menace, by means of which members held their seats at the will and pleasure of the Prime Minister. Mr. AYRTON again uplifted his voice emphatically against the House being brought into equivocal relations with the Crown. Mr. OSBORNE was pungent in the expression of his wish for a dissolution which would send the present vacillating House packing, and was very portentous in an allusion to a power behind the Throne which tendered noxious advice to the Crown—the Earl of Derby being of course understood. Mr. HORSMAN was severely categorical in his requirement of information, and other and minor members intervened—all with more or less pressure for a definite explanation of the situation; and the catechism was ended crucially by Mr. LOWE. At last Mr. DISRAELI rose, and, after a little dallying, spoke with some distinctness, and said that his advice to her Majesty as to the dissolution of Parliament was confined to the Irish Church question alone, and that if difficulty arose on any other subject, it would be his duty again to lay the case before her Majesty. Though the discussion lingered a little while with Mr. WHALLEY and Mr. LIDDELL, and of course was, so to speak, trumped by Mr. DARBY GRIFFITH, it then practically ended, having been conducted with no little animation and even excitement.

THE IRISH CHURCH DIVISION.

In the division by which the House of Commons agreed on the morning of April 4 to go into committee upon Mr. Gladstone's resolutions, 600 members, exclusive of tellers, took part. In the division of Thursday night—or rather Friday morning—the numbers were five less, viz., 595. The majority against the Government in the former case was recorded as fifty-six, but two Liberal members having accidentally voted with the noes instead of the ayes, the majority really was sixty. In the present division the majority against the Government is sixty-five.

Five Liberals voted with the Government. They were—E. Antrobus, Mr. H. B. Baring, Lord Cremorne, E. Sanderson, and J. Wyld. Of Mr. Briscoe, Sir J. Matheson, and Mr. H. Maxwell, Liberals, who voted against Mr. Gladstone's motion in the first instance, the first two were absent from the present division, and the latter paired against Mr. Gladstone.

The Conservatives voting for the resolution were, as before, Lord Bingham, Sir G. Bowyer, Mr. Butler-Johnstone, Mr. Earle, Mr. N. P. Leader, Sir J. McKenna, Mr. G. Morris, Colonel Vandeleur, and Mr. McLagan.

Four new members, Mr. Welby, Mr. Turner, Mr. Walsh, and Mr. Miles, all Conservatives, were sworn in on Thursday night, and were able to give their support to the Government.

The Liberal pairs were:—Sir E. Bulkeley, Mr. M. H. Marsh, Sir T. D. Lloyd, Mr. K. Huggess, Mr. Edward Ellice, The O'Connor Don, Mr. H. D. Seymour, Mr. G. Traill, Colonel R. M. Biddulph, Sir M. J. Cholmeley, Mr. O. Fitzwilliam, Sir T. E. Winnington, Mr. Brocklehurst, Mr. G. M. Gaskell.

The Conservative pairs were:—Sir M. Ridley, Lord H. Thynne, Mr. Bowen, Major Dickson, Viscount Curzon, Mr. C. G. Du Pré, Earl of Bective, Lord H. Scott, Mr. H. J. Baillie, Mr. G. S. Sandford, Mr. H. Lowther, Mr. H. Maxwell, Colonel Barttelot, Mr. D. Jones.

The following twenty-two Liberal members were absent:—J. Briscoe, J. Brown, Lord E. Bruce, Sir G. Colthurst, T. Crosland, L. G. Ellis, A. Finlay, R. Fort, W. Hughes, E. McEvoy, J. Mackie, L. Mackinnon, W. Mackinnon, P. Martin, Sir J. Matheson, W. Nicholson, G. Packe, Sir E. Palmer, T. Parry, Sir R. Peel, J. Pim, E. Pryse.

The seven Conservative absentees were:—J. B. Bowen, G. Dickson, F. P. Dunne, J. M. Gaskell, J. G. King, D. Pugh, C. Tottenham.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

BRISTOL.—The polling took place on Wednesday, and resulted in the defeat of Mr. Morley. At the close the numbers were:—

Miles (Conservative)	5,173
Morley (Liberal)	4,977

Majority for Miles 196

After the declaration of the poll on Thursday, Mr. S. Morley said:—

Although he stood before them the defeated candidate, he was proud to say he had lost this election without losing his honour. By means of the undue use of money, of beer, and of intimidation, his honourable opponent had been placed at the head of the poll. He had endeavoured from the first of his coming to Bristol to hold up to the admiration and the support of the earnest Liberals of that city the principles which were as dear to him as his life. He had succeeded in strengthening impressions, in deepening convictions, and, he trusted, in offering that encouragement to earnest men which, although for the moment they were defeated, must, he was quite sure, ultimately triumph. He had no fear whatever that, upon investigation, facts would be ascertained with accuracy quite sufficient to alter the position which he and his opponent occupied that day. In spite of this, he desired to express his thanks to Mr. Miles for the absence, so far as he was concerned, of everything personal in that contest; and whilst he (Mr. Morley) distinctly opposed the prin

which Mr. Miles professed and advocated, he yet paid this personal tribute to his own conduct in this contest. One satisfaction he (Mr. Morley) had, as the result of what had been going on during the past week, that thousands of persons had been converted to an earnest advocacy of the vote by ballot—a mode of conducting an election which could not fail, he believed, if honestly carried out, to save them from scenes which he held to be a scandal to the age in which we lived, and to which scandal, he was thankful to say, his friends had in no way lent themselves. He was able to state with confidence that not one shilling had been spent on his part on the election impurely—that no attempt had been made, except by the use of argument, to influence a voter, and in retiring from the contest he hoped he did not leave a single enemy behind him in Bristol, whilst he was quite sure he had made many friends, to whom, for their earnest, continuous, and preserving exertions, he felt himself under the greatest and lasting obligation. He again expressed his thanks to the 4,977 voters, unbought, because unpurchaseable, who had, in spite of the exercise of the usual influences in Bristol elections, recorded their votes in his behalf. Mr. J. W. Miles, M.P., proposed a vote of thanks to the High Sheriff. Mr. Morley seconded the vote with much pleasure. The proceedings then terminated. The "roughs" were marched out of the Exchange four abreast, in military fashion, and proceeded to their respective rendezvous. The *Star* says:—"We have good reason to know that the Tory victory in Bristol has been obtained by an amount and a kind of expenditure which will have to be brought under the notice of Parliament."

EAST KENT.—The polling took place on Thursday with the following result:—

Pemberton (Conservative)	3,597
Tufton (Liberal)	3,110

Majority for Pemberton . . . 487

Mr. Pemberton replaces a Conservative, but his majority is 211 more than that by which Sir B. W. Bridges was returned at the general election. Before the election a disgraceful trick was played by the Conservative agents. They sent to the Liberal voters a circular purporting to possess legal and official authority, which begins: "(Kent to wit) 12 and 13 Wm. 3rd, c. 2," and required electors to take notice that under the statute in question Mr. Tufton, the Liberal candidate, was disqualified on account of his foreign parentage, and that "all votes given to him will be lost and thrown away." To make matters worse, the Conservative agents, apparently fearing that their trick might be seen through, took the mean revenge of posting the circulars as unpaid letters, so that the Liberals in the constituency had each been fined twopence on the morning of the election.

STIRLING.—The election of a representative for the Stirling Burghs took place on Wednesday, and resulted in the return of Mr. Ramsay, by a majority of 71 over the other candidate, Mr. Campbell. Both candidates are Liberals, almost Radical, in their politics. Mr. Campbell, perhaps, being the most "pronounced" of the two. But as far as their public profession of principles is concerned, there was very little room for choice between them. Mr. Ramsay, however, is a native of Stirling, and to this is no doubt due his success.

STAMFORD.—On Monday Lord Ingestre was elected without opposition to succeed Viscount Cranborne. In the course of his address the noble lord said that he should give a general support to the present Government.

EAST WORCESTERSHIRE.—A vacancy has occurred in the representation of this constituency by the succession of the Hon. Fredk. H. W. Calthorpe, M.P., to the peerage by the death of his father, Lord Calthorpe, who died on Saturday last.

The pleadings in the celebrated spiritualist case, *Lyon v. Home*, concluded on Thursday with the reply of Mr. James upon the whole case. The Vice-Chancellor intimated that his decision would probably be given on some early day in next term, but certainly not before.

There have been some shocking crimes during the week. At Dover, Wells, a young man of nineteen, a porter, fired a Minié bullet point blank into the face of Mr. Walsh, the station-master, while the unfortunate man was dictating a letter to his superiors on the prisoner's misconduct. Mr. Walsh fell dead. Near Durham, a police-officer having been discharged for misconduct, shot his accuser dead, and then sent a bullet through his own brain. Both the deceased were Scotchmen. At St. Helen's a collier named Fillingham has killed the woman with whom he lived. The savage beat the wretched woman till she was insensible, and afterwards, when she was recovering so as to sit up, threw a poker at her with all his force. The sharp end entered her eye and inflicted a fatal injury.

GREAT NORTHERN HOSPITAL, CALEDONIAN-ROAD, N.—Number of patients for the week ending May 2, 1,103, of which 376 were new cases. The Marquis of Westminster, K.G., one of the vice-presidents of the Great Northern Hospital, has just presented that useful charity with the handsome donation of 200*l.* for the new hospital building.

THE SCHOOLMASTER IN AMERICA.—The principal of a school in the interior of Missouri having resigned, the following application was made for the position:—

MACON CITY, Jan. 14th, 1868.

Sir, hearing that the Professor of your high School was about to resign. I therefore solicit your patronage, and think I can all the place. If you wish a teacher please give me a call I can teach all branches You require. Please address soon ———, Kansas City, Mo."

The answer to this application is not recorded.

Literature.

BARON BUNSEN.*

The memoirs of so remarkable a man as Baron Bunsen should possess an interest which few works of its class could be expected to command. He was a scholar of the highest attainments; he was a statesman who was intimately known to and respected by all the politicians of Europe for nearly half a century, and he was a man of the highest Christian character. In the volumes before us we learn less of the scholar and the statesman than we do of the man, but this, to most of those who are acquainted with his works and who knew him in diplomatic life, will constitute their charm. To others, who have not known him in either of these aspects, they may yet be prized as few biographies deserve, for they are the record of one of the purest and noblest lives that have been lived. It is impossible to read them without the best aspirations of one's nature being quickened and kindled by the life which they describe.

Baron Bunsen was born in 1791, at Corbach, of parents in the middle class of life, possessed of scanty means, but great intelligence and equally great piety. His father appears to have been a man of remarkably firm Christian integrity, and to his training Bunsen owed his first religious tendencies. On the day of the child's baptism he wrote, "O God, guide him by Thy grace, and let him grow up in Thy love and fear and in all virtue, to the joy of his parents"; and, as the writer of his memoir remarks, "This prayer was indeed heard and answered to the full." As a boy at school Bunsen was remarkable for his thirst for knowledge, his untiring industry and power of application, the breadth of his attainments and the purity of his character. No individual, says one who knew him well at this time, and who has contributed an interesting memorial of this period of his life, could measure with him in any degree. Bunsen, however, owed much to the fact of his being a German. In England few persons born in his circumstances could have obtained a University education. He at eighteen was at Aarburg and at nineteen at Göttingen. Here he was fortunate enough to obtain the post of teacher of German to a son of John Jacob Astor, of New York, whom he afterwards accompanied to some of the chief cities of Europe. His habits at this time were what they had been as a boy. He rose at three o'clock to study, and seldom allowed himself more than six hours' sleep. These habits, with little modifications he continued to the close of his life.

A man who at twenty years of age, for an Essay on the Athenian Law of Inheritance obtained, unsolicited, the degree of Doctor of Philosophy from the University of Jena, must have been a man of unusual power and promise. So he is found to have been. His reading included all subjects in all the principal languages, both ancient and modern, and by the time that he was twenty-four he had already laid down the plan of his life as a scholar. What that plan was his published works in archaeology and divinity amply illustrate. The mode of carrying this out—which was to have taken him, for purposes of study, to India—was changed by his meeting at Rome with an English lady, Mrs. Waddington, and her three daughters, one of whom, after a brief courtship, he married. No married life could have been happier than that now begun. Bunsen had a wonderful fulness of heart and warmth of affection. All through his life, and to his dying day, he retained the freshness of his early love. These volumes, the production of his widow, bear internal testimony of the fitness of that love.

It was at Rome that Bunsen's public life began. Here he met Niebuhr, who was Minister Plenipotentiary of Prussia, and who, on a vacancy occurring, obtained for him the post of Secretary of Legation. Of the many personal anecdotes and sketches with which this work abounds, one by the Baroness Bunsen of the great Roman historian is well worth quotation:—

"The visit to Tivoli, here recorded, remains strongly

impressed in the memory of the one survivor of that cheerful party, in manifold images of pleasure, from beauty of nature and season, and social intercourse, in which the mind of Niebuhr was unfolded in the variety of power and intensity of interest in 'all that is good, all that is true, all that is learned, all that is wise,' as it were expanding in sunshine, enjoying the external world, and at ease in spirit; not haunted by the gloomy visions of public or domestic calamity, under the influence of which its balance often seemed lost, and its native lineaments became scarcely recognisable. The richness and charm of his conversation, when under benign influences, cannot be so described as to characterise it justly; he was peculiarly distinguished from other gifted writers by commanding the whole range of subjects, to which he led attention, not being absorbed or trammelled by one in particular; he guided the mind's eye from one class of ideas to another, not confounding them, but relieving one portion by another. Communicating anecdotes with a spirit, enhanced by scrupulous exactness of detail, illustrating and developing without overcharging; as remarkable for essential weight and abundance of matter as for the absence of everything trivial and common-place. The extreme scrupulousness of Niebuhr, in a matter of barter and exchange, in which a very different practice is general, was evinced by his declining to purchase coins, by the rarity of which he acknowledged himself to be tempted, because (as he assured the poor proprietor) he could not afford to pay what he knew to be their actual worth. The man begged him to set a price upon them, as he knew not what to ask, but Niebuhr left him with a written list of the demands he would be entitled to make upon some purchaser who should have larger funds at command than himself."

After a time Bunsen succeeded to Niebuhr's position at Rome, and in that city he remained for twenty-two years. There all his children were born, and there he made his European reputation. As a diplomatist, however, he failed, as he afterwards failed in England. This is not surprising, for what is surprising is the fact he held his position for so long a period. As far as he was a German, Bunsen was a Prussian, but had it not been for the intimate and peculiar personal friendship which existed between the late King of Prussia and himself, it is scarcely probable that he would have held, for any length of time, a high diplomatic post. He was not a noble, and he was not a trained courtier. He had never lived at Berlin, and he was a man who could not adopt the lower arts of diplomacy. He attained and kept his position solely by the attractiveness of his character and the splendour of his intellectual abilities. In the Roman as in the English crisis of his diplomatic life, he failed, as well as we can read his history, because he was not merely a German and a Prussian, but an idealist in politics. He had an almost unparalleled power of assimilation, and he belonged to all countries. As a result of this he could not always take a merely local or national view of public questions. What was right to him was right, and whether king or people agreed with him, he urged his views with all the ardour and sincerity of his ardent and sincere nature. The Court party in Prussia neither knew nor liked him, and the people did not understand him. It could scarcely have been otherwise, for Bunsen lived a life that they not merely had not, but could not have lived. And besides, he was ever living not merely in the present, but in the future. He had an instinct which told him what should be the proper aim, and what could be the ultimate destiny of his country; and he acted as though the people shared in his instinct. Some of his letters in these volumes are marvellously prophetic; and could he have lived to our own time, the Prussian people would have given him the position of the Nestor of their statesmen. But, while he was full of intelligence and foresight, he had to deal with people who were ignorant, prejudiced, and confused. What can a statesman do under such circumstances, but commit what are called blunders? Bunsen, in a sense, blundered. That is to say, he did not, in certain diplomatic cases, correctly express the will of the nation, or rather of the court, and he therefore became a sacrifice.

Soon after this—in 1840, and in the forty-ninth year of his age—Bunsen realised one of the dreams of his life in visiting England. He was, after all, as much an Englishman as he was a Prussian. Years before he came to London he wrote to Dr. Arnold of "great Albion, the pride of Europe, and the triumph of Teutonic and of Christian liberty,—she who alone through a thousand years has retained the instinct of life and known the mystery of creation by making old things new by clinging to the past while calling forth a new manifestation of existence," and all through his life he retained his admiration of this country. Here he wrote, more than twenty years after his letter to Arnold, he wished to "live and die," and we think that he was never so much at home as he was in his English house and amongst his English friends. Nor was this solely on account of his domestic relationships. He liked the institutions of this country and the people whom he met, and who were eager to give him their friendship and their hospitality.

* *Memoirs of Baron Bunsen. By the Baroness Bunsen.* (Longman and Co.)

At first he also liked the Church, but his opinion of that institution ultimately declined, as it well might with a man who detested the supremacy of the State, and who was always advocating the "freedom of the congregation." Dissenters Bunsen appears to have looked upon with aversion. He had, as his biographer says, a reverence for authority, and he had also a dread of radicalism. He does not appear to have come into any intimate contact with the representatives of Nonconformity: if he had done so we believe he would have found his type of a Christian Church and of Christian life, not exactly, but far more nearly, realised amongst them than amongst those with whom he held habitual intercourse. He wrote to Arnold in 1835, "What seems to me the most important for England to consult is the Episcopal Church of the United States. It is incredible, and yet true, that the greatest event in the modern history of Church constitution, the American development of your institutions, should not yet have been noticed." There is exaggeration, but only the exaggeration of a truth, in this language. A generation has passed since the words were written, and the English Church, with its obstinate blindness, has not even yet "noticed" this "development." Nor will it do so until it is "too late." Aptly, although with unusual sarcasm, he remarked that "Christ died only for the English"—according to the habit of thought of English Episcopalians.

There is scarcely a page of the memorials of Bunsen's thirteen years' life in England, as the Minister of Prussia, from which we would not gladly quote if our space permitted. He was privileged to know Englishmen as few of English birth can know them. He held intimate intercourse with all leading statesmen and scholars. He was often a valued guest of the Queen, and some incidents of royal life, which are given in these pages in private letters, raise our estimation of the character and habits of our own Sovereign even higher than that given by some recently published works. As a diplomatist he appears to have held Lord Palmerston in highest estimation; but he had great reverence and affection for Sir Robert Peel and an enthusiastic admiration for Mr. Gladstone, of whom he wrote, just thirty years ago, "He walks sadly in the trammels of his Oxford friends in some points," but "he is the first man in England as to intellectual power, and he has heard higher tones than any one else in this island."

The notices of the Queen are abundant, for Bunsen was a favourite both with her Majesty and the Prince Consort. The Baroness writes in 1842:—

"My impression of the Queen's deportment is that it is perfect in grace and dignity. She conversed heartily with the King [of Prussia], laughing heartily (no company laugh) at things he said to entertain her."

Later we have a note from Bunsen's own hand—

"To return to Windsor Castle. The Queen as a wife and a mother is as happy as the happiest in her dominions, and no one can be more careful of her charges. She often speaks to me of the great task before her and the Prince in the education of the royal children, and particularly of the Prince of Wales and the Princess Royal. She brought them all into the corridor the day before yesterday to shake hands with me."

Although engaged nearly all his life in diplomatic service, Bunsen appears to have detested it. He longed for a life that could be wholly devoted to the service of the Church and of literature. Yet he gave to both of them as much as most men give who devote their entire lives to them. He seems to have been ever in society and yet ever at work. When he lived at Carlton-terrace and had the interests of a kingdom to consider, and was often compelled to discharge clerk's labour in their behalf, he rose and lit his own fire at five o'clock in the morning, and worked away at Egyptology or Church history for hours before London was awake. He does not appear to have wasted a minute of time, and only when he was an old man verging upon seventy does he begin to complain that his mind is losing its tension; in other words, that he cannot labour so long and so continuously as was his wont. Yet at this great age he was looking to a professorship at Bonn for the realisation of his life's wishes as to intellectual employment!

Bunsen's career in England ended as did his career in Rome. He misunderstood not what was right, but what the Prussian nation wanted; or rather he had no sympathy with the Court prejudices. He wrenched himself from his adopted country at the age of sixty-two, and retired to the banks of the Rhine, where, at last, he could give himself wholly to study. How five years later he died, and what a glorious death his was, no description other than that of the writer of these memoirs could portray.

Baron Bunsen's greatest successes in life were achieved in the line which he laid down for himself long before his public employment was opened up to him. As we have already in effect remarked, he was too much of a cosmopolitan to serve with servility the selfish interests of any particular country. His heart was thoroughly Protestant and Prussian, and he alone, of all the men of his time, had these aspirations for his country, and hopes for their fulfilment, which have since been achieved. But how could any man who could thus be described satisfy the inevitable selfishness of a single nation:—

"All those who have intimately conversed with Bunsen must be aware how earnestly he desired the increase of intercourse between thoughtful minds of each and every one of the cultivated and free-spirited nations, and wished that the intellectual and intelligent of all lands had but as much acquaintance with each other's mental occupations as in the age of the Reformation, when mind acted upon mind in despite of distance, like the reflection and reproduction of light from corresponding mirrors. More particularly did he labour to convince his own countrymen, that although Germans possess eminently the privilege of acting as the intellectual instructors of mankind, yet they should not forget that other nationalities may also strike out truths by which the common stock may be increased; and he regretted and never failed to reprove the spirit of exclusiveness which he considered to be gaining ground in the world. The high value which he entertained for the English mind and the English nation is too well known, and too often expressed by him, to need further dwelling upon in this place; but he entered with fulness of interest into the characteristic excellencies of every nation; and alien to his character and convictions as are what are termed French tendencies and principles, he had a high estimation of the intellectual and moral power and perspicuity of the French mind. . . . A passage in the preface of his 'Hippolytus' shows his estimation of the Italian, of the Spanish, and of the Russian nationality; and the image which he was fond of using with regard to Italy, of the 'absence and need of the Italian chord in the musical harmony of Europe, in which as yet only the vibrations of the German, the French, and the English chords are heard,' might have been extended further."

Such a man could never, in the vulgar sense, have been a "successful" diplomatist.

Bunsen was eminently a Christian statesman. He believed in no national life that had not its basis in religion. He was of opinion—an opinion which we find constantly reiterated in his letters—that there could be no 1688 in Europe without a previous 1517, in other words, that there could be no political without a previous religious regeneration. "No free nation," he wrote, "without religion! No free Christian nation without Protestantism!" "Christ," he wrote at another period, "must and will become flesh and blood nationally as He did humanly—as He is becoming in the community of believers. Universal priesthood, instead of the former exclusive order: works of love, instead of professions of faith: belief in God within us (i.e. Christ) with such awe and humility as can alone preserve Him to our souls,—that is the Religion and Church of the Future. All besides must fall and is already spiritually annihilated. The Bible remains as the consecrated centre of the world's history."

The deep religiousness of Bunsen's character is evident in every act of his life. He had, as in human affections, more spontaneous and openly expressed feelings of this kind than are common to cultivated men in England. We stunt ourselves by our shyness, our reserve, and our reticence, he grew by freely giving forth of his life to others. We had marked many passages illustrative of the beauty of his piety, but our space warns us to desist from further quotation. And is it yet safe to speak of Bunsen's piety? When he was in England there was a holy set that called him an infidel, and, worst name of all, a "neologian." He spoke not after their fashion and used not their jargon. His "opinions" were different from theirs, and so he was an outcast and a heretic, and a man at whom it was a virtue to throw a good but sharp orthodox stone. We hope that all such will read these volumes, and be humbled by the revelations which will be given to them.

We have already indicated that this work is the production of the English lady who, when Baron Bunsen was a young and an unknown man, consented to be his wife. We can scarcely dismiss it without a word concerning its execution. The Baroness Bunsen has written not only with reverence but with great delicacy and discrimination. The literary style and the literary judgment shown in the composition and arrangement of the materials of these volumes indicate not only great literary ability but great taste. The "Memoirs" extend to more than twelve hundred pages, yet when we had finished them we felt that they were too brief. They now appear at a most appropriate time, when the fifth and last volume of Bunsen's greatest work, completed eight years ago, is published. Here is the monument of the unrivalled ability of the scholar, as his "Memoirs" are a monument of his great Christian services and his lofty Christian character.

RECENT MINOR POETRY.*

We are always unfavourably impressed with a volume of verses when we find it introduced by a preface. Commonly it is egotism which prompts the scribbler to take readers into his confidence, telling them how he came to write, and why he has chosen to publish his rhymes; while for poems to need explanatory prose is their severest condemnation. It is, however, fortunate that the first three under-named volumes have prefaces, otherwise it would be impossible to conceive the reasons the writers deem sufficient to justify their issue to the public. A rhymers' parental tenderness for his effusions may explain their preservation. We would not press the question why this doggerel was not committed to the waste-basket immediately on its revision, but the publication of each of the collections indicates a more than commonly foolish self-complacency.

Mr. Poyer's is an ambitious preface. Comparing the Psalms of David with other national poetry, he sums up Homer, Shakspeare, and Milton somewhat cavalierly. Homer is a savage, Milton an austere Calvinist, and Shakspeare a "skilful rhetorician"; "rhythmic natural action, articulately expressed, rather than rich unearthly music stirring the inner depths of the spirit, is the distinctive character of the Shakspearian 'discoursing.'" "The strain of David! ah, if we could but take hold of its music, we should be in no danger of confounding it with any lower utterance—Miltonic or other; but rising upon the wings of its divine harmony, we should find ourselves translated into the very Paradise of God, and notwithstanding that we are as to our feet the denizens of earth, should consciously feel and know that in our souls we were already admitted to the fellowship of Angels." Mr. Poyer has often "privately thought that our English version of the strain must fall very far below that of the Hebrew original, and now under his breath he ventures to say as much in the ears of the world." "A conviction that the strain of David is susceptible of a more genuinely poetic treatment, and that it ought to be rendered in accordance with the music, which is its very life and substance, and whereby only the heart is stirred to its profounder depths, has led us, in the songs here given to the lovers of song, to essay what we may, perhaps, without presumption, designate a rehearsal of those grand old Hebrew melodies, or rather of some of them conceived as really springing forth with music, and continued and conserved by the same great enchanter." This being Mr. Poyer's aim, let us see what is his execution. Here are four verses of

"THE OLD HUNDREDETH."

"Oh, Love, awake, and tune thy lips to song,
And rouse the Nations with thy kindling breath,
And make them one with God's angelic throng,
Triumphant in their joy o'er hell and death.

Rise up, Oh, Love, and gird the earth around,
And with ten thousand voices greet thy Lord,
With psalms and hymns of sweet mellifluous sound
Proclaim the joy of Music's deep accord.

So shalt thou know the Lord is God alone,
Who, in great love, our being form'd and holds;
How feedeth He His sheep in every zone,
And cherisheth as one His many folds.

Great heart of Love, awake and shout with joy,
His glorious temple gates throw open wide;
For art thou aye the young immortal Boy,
And he who form'd thee holds thee to his side."

The paper-maker, printer, and binder have done their best to make this volume presentable, and it does credit to Mr. Bennett's publishing resources; but we know of no metrical Psalter or Hymn-book in which the Psalms of David are so unworthily treated as here.

Mr. Thomas also has gone to the Scriptures for subjects for his muse. "The author's favourite form of composition is the sonnet; which being of moderate length, so as to admit of condensation and terseness, affords an opportunity of presenting a vivid and striking representation of some interesting scene or event, and should bear the same relation to a more extended narrative or description, that a cabinet picture does to the larger paintings of a great master, or the gigantic frescoes that adorn the interior of some vast and magnificent structure." The reader will, of course expect, from this, terseness, condensation, and finish in the sonnets that follow. This, on the "Doom of the Serpent," is a fair sample of what he will find. We give it—italics and all—as Mr. Thomas has printed it.

"Where art thou, Adam?" He thus called by name,
Came forth unto his Judge, and made reply;
"I heard thy voice and was afraid, for I
Was naked, and did hide for very shame."
Question'd of his offence, he lays the blame
Upon the woman, as God's gift, and she
Upon the serpent's guile and subtlety.

* *Harp Echoes. Songs in the Night.* By JOHN POYER, author of "St. Thomas A'Becket," "Anti-Colenso," &c. (London: Alfred W. Bennett.)

Poems on Sacred, Classical, Mediæval, and Modern Subjects. By JOHN WESLEY THOMAS, author of "The Philology," a metrical and triple-rhymed version of Dante's "Divina Commedia." (London: Elliot Stock.)

Early and other Poems. By E. M. C. B. (London: printed by C. Whiting, Beaufort House, Strand.)

Sunday Verses. By JOSEPH TRUMAN. (London: W. Macintosh.)

Lights through a Lattice. By J. E. A. BROWN. (London: Strahan and Co.)

Th' serpent's doom a promise now became
To man—of the Deliverer:—'Ere He
From age to age throughout all future years,
Between thee and the woman there shall be:
And equally between thy seed and hers.
Though thou shalt bruise his heel,' the Almighty
said,

'Her future Progeny shall bruise thy head.'

E. M. C. R. had mentioned to her, by a dear friend, "the case of a lady, aged and a widow, reduced, for a time at least, to absolute penury by the suspension of the Agra Bank. The author would gladly have responded to the appeal at once, had it been in her power; as it was not, the idea suggested itself of publishing an edition of these verses, and devoting the proceeds to the poor lady's benefit." The charity of the public is boundless, and so this may prove a substantial gift. Assuredly the author highly values even her lightest effusions. This is one of her poems, the smallest in bulk of the volume, but line for line, equal to the rest in pathos and thought:—

"JOHN XX. 22.

"Christ, our light and life divine,
Ere He ceased on earth to shine,
Breathed on His disciples dear;
Hence a light to all they are."

It is a relief to turn from these pages, which nothing but self-complacency could ever have drawn from the obscurity they rested in, and to which they must inevitably at once return, to poems, which, although not of a very high class, yet have real feeling in them. Mr. Truman's "Sunday Verses" are simple and true; those of them which are concerned with actual experience of life being superior to those which are simply doctrinal or meditative. We would only suggest that a shilling is too high a price for ten short poems in paper covers, unless the actual poetic value is much greater than these possess.

The title of the last volume, "Lights through a Lattice," is thus explained:—

"There is in every house, however mean,
Some little window looking on the stars,
Where, as we kneel, between the lattice bars,
The holy lights of Heaven may be seen.
The gleam is faint, perchance, which shows between,
Often the cities' smoke its brightness mars,
Often the shadow of our roof's dark space—
Yet ever purer than our lamps hath been.
Could we not look out thus, at morn and eve,
Methinks we should not plume our wings for flight;
Should grope, contented, amid darkness deep,
Nor see the watching angels, ere we sleep,
Nor mark the red auroras, nor perceive
The comfort of the sunrise after night."

There is thought here; the image, homely as it is, is sweet and the expression unaffected. Whether poetry or piety be meant, the suggestion is equally true; perhaps the author could scarcely tell whether poetry or piety is the lattice, throughout the book the poetic feeling and the feeling of piety are the same. The reader will find many pages of just this character, not "stirring" the soul, or "sweeping" the chords of passion, but touching true sensibilities, touching also, even if but lightly, deep sensibilities. Whatever does this is poetry; because they have this characteristic, we rank the two last-named volumes among our Minor Poetry; because they never do this, we deny the name of Poems to the other productions.

Epitome of News.

The Queen and Royal family will return to Windsor Castle to-morrow, and on the following Friday her Majesty will leave for Scotland.

The Premier arrived at Osborne on Friday, and had the honour of dining with the Queen and Royal family. He left for London on Saturday.

A levée was held on Monday, at St. James's Palace, by the Prince of Wales on behalf of her Majesty.

Prince Alfred is a composer: so at least a Melbourne journal assures us. He has composed a waltz which lies at his Royal Highness's appointed publishers, Messrs. Anderson and Son, and which an Australian critic says is very melodious and of easy performance. The waltz is naturally having a large sale in the colony.—*The Orchestra.*

Mr. Charles Dickens arrived at Liverpool last Friday by the royal mail-steamer Russia, from New York.

Mr. J. S. Mill writes to the *Daily News* to contradict the statement in the *Quarterly Review* that Mr. Goldwin Smith will not go to America if his friends can find him a seat in Parliament. He has had the offer of several seats, which he has declined.

The Court of Common Council held a special meeting on Friday for the purpose of agreeing upon an address to her Majesty in reference to the late atrocious attempt to assassinate Prince Alfred. Addresses to the same effect have been adopted by a number of corporate bodies throughout the country.

Lord Lyttelton has returned from his visit to New Zealand.

Mr. John Mellor, an antiquary of Derby, states that he has discovered the remains of King Alfred at Hyde Abbey, Winchester.

A meeting was held on Friday, at Devonshire House, of the Liberal county members, and of those Liberal borough members who are affected by the report of the Boundary Commissioners. Several propositions were discussed, but eventually a committee was appointed, including Mr. Bright, Mr. Gladstone, and the Marquis of Hartington, to consider what course shall be taken in the matter.

The Liberal party do not, it is now said, intend to propose Mr. Brand as Speaker in the next Parliament, the present Speaker having no intention of leaving the House of Commons should his services be acceptable to the new Parliament.

It is stated that the Prince and Princess of Wales may probably be induced to pay a second visit to Ireland in the autumn—this time to Killarney as well as Belfast.

The bank of Messrs. Roskell, Arrowsmith, and Kendall, suspended payment on Monday morning. Its business was chiefly among the Roman Catholics of Preston, and it received the moneys of many, if not all, the Roman Catholic charities.

The annual dinner of the Royal Academy on Saturday was again graced by the presence of the Prince of Wales and other visitors. The president, Sir Francis Grant, was in the chair, and the list of guests comprised most names of note in the world of art and letters. The principal speeches were those of the Heir Apparent, the Duke of Cambridge, Prince Christian, Lord Chancellor Cairns, and the President. The Exhibition is considered to be a good average, but nothing beyond.

A shocking outrage took place in See thing-lane, in the City of London, on Friday night. A woman named Munns, who has charge of a pile of warehouses and offices, was left alone in the evening by her daughter and her son-in-law, John Ellis, going out. On their return in the evening, at about nine, no answer could be obtained to the summons of the door-bell. After walking about the neighbourhood for three quarters of an hour, Ellis returned to the house and found Mrs. Munns sitting on the doorstep, in an unconscious state, covered with blood, her head and face having been beaten in with a mallet. A box in her room was found to have been forced, and 2l. taken therefrom, but some plate left untouched. In the course of Saturday Mrs. Munns so far recovered as to be able to say that her assailants were two lads, and eventually two boys, named Smith, one fifteen and the other thirteen years of age, being arrested, they confessed to having committed the robbery, and said that they should not have hurt the woman if she had not screamed on finding them in her bedroom. Later on Saturday they were confronted with Mrs. Munns, who identified them. They have been committed for trial. They had been diligently reading "Jack Sheppard" literature.

The day fixed for the execution of Barrett is Tuesday, the 12th inst. He is constantly visited by the Rev. Mr. Hussey, the priest attached to Moorfields Chapel. His friends reside in Ireland.

Yesterday a deputation, headed by Mr. Bright, M.P., waited on the Home Secretary to pray for a respite, with a view to make further inquiry into Barrett's *alibi*. Mr. Hardy stated that he had already recognised the necessity of such an inquiry, and had taken steps to secure one. He had also applied for the Chief Justice's notes of the trial, and assured the deputation that the matter would receive his most serious consideration.

The question of closing public-houses on Sunday has been made the subject of a painstaking experiment at Leicester, when the result of a house-to-house canvass it, that out of 11,021 householders, 8,057 of whom are working men, there are in favour of total closing, 7,908; of further restrictions in hours of sale, 706; of the law remaining as at present, 2,407.

Bishop, the man who stabbed and killed another when being taken to prison at Sydenham, was executed at Maidstone on Thursday.

The Irish Government are gradually releasing the Fenians who have lain in prison under Lord-Lieutenant's warrants throughout the winter.

The *mandamus* in the case of ex-Governor Eyre has been granted by the Court of Queen's Bench, and the case will now be tried before Mr. Vaughan, the magistrate.

The proceedings in connection with the trial of Burke, Casey, and Shaw for treason-felony were resumed on Thursday morning, at the Central Criminal Court. Casey was discharged; the other two found guilty. Mr. Baron Bramwell sentenced Burke to fifteen years' penal servitude, and Shaw to seven years. Burke, when asked if he had anything to say why sentence should not be passed, stated that he was not surprised at the conclusion arrived at. He owed no allegiance to her Majesty beyond respect. He was proceeding with a very violent address, but was stopped by the learned judge. Shaw left the dock saying, "I could do twenty years more for the sake of old Ireland."

The Court of Queen's Bench have confirmed the conviction of the justices of Wolverhampton that

"The Confessional Unmasked" should be destroyed, coming under Lord Campbell's Act against obscene publications.

The footway of the embankment on the southern side of the Thames, from Westminster-bridge to Lambeth Palace, was opened to the public on Saturday afternoon.

The Wigan colliers have submitted to the reduction of their wages, and returned to work.

Births, Marriages, and Deaths.

BIRTH.

BAYLIFFE.—April 22, at the Chapel House, Marlborough, the wife of the Rev. E. T. Bayliffe, B.A., of a son.

MARRIAGES.

LATCHMORE—WINDSOR.—April 23, at the Friends' Meeting-house, Cartmel, Lancashire, Joseph Latchmore, of Leeds, to Eliza, daughter of the late James Windsor, Liverpool.

PARKER—EATON.—April 23, at the Congregational Chapel, Wirksworth, George Henry, third son of W. Parker Esq., Cheetham-hill, Manchester, to Dora Agnes, only daughter of the late George Eaton, Esq., Willington, near Derby.

BARTHOLOMEW—CHAPLIN.—April 23, at Union Chapel, Islington, by the Rev. H. Allon, C. A. Bartholomew, of St. Mary's-road, Canonbury, to Alice Mary, daughter of W. H. Chaplin, of Canonbury-square.

STOCKS—LOBLEY.—April 23, at the Wesleyan Chapel, Chapel Allerton, by the Rev. John Rattenbury, James Staniland, younger son of John Stocks, Esq., Cowper Cottage, Leeds, to Harriet Ann, only child of the late Richard Loble, Esq., flax spinner, Leeds.

MOXON—GREEN.—April 23, at the Mount Pleasant Wesleyan Methodist Chapel, Chapeltown, Mr. Thomas Moxon, of The Haggs, to Miss Martha Ann Green, of Tankersley park top.

NELSON—KEMP.—April 30, at 8, Melville-crescent, Edinburgh, by the Rev. Dr. Candlish, Thomas Nelson, Esq., publisher, Edinburgh, to Jessie, eldest daughter of James Kemp, Esq.

OGDEN—SPINK.—April 30, at the Congregational church, Square-road, Halifax, by the Rev. Ben. Bond, Mr. Samuel Ogden to Miss Fanny Spink, both of Halifax.

MEDLEY—RIDGWAY.—April 30, at Regent's Park Chapel, by the Rev. Dr. Landels, George Bowley, oldest son of Guy Medley, Esq., Orrell Lodge, near Liverpool, to Frances, daughter of the late Joseph Ridgway, Esq., Liverpool.

PAGE—THURLOW.—April 30, at the Independent chapel, Wolburn, Beds, by the Rev. J. Andrews, Mr. David Page, to Miss Ann Thurlow, both of Wolburn.

GOUGH—CHAMPNESS.—April 30, at the Blackheart Congregational church, by the Rev. William Champness, brother of the bride, assisted by the Rev. Joseph Beasley, Philip Henry Gough, of Wem, Shropshire, to Sophia Colman Champness, daughter of William Champness, Esq., of 5, Lansdowne Villas, Lee, Kent. No cards.

MACWILLIAM—UMPHRAY.—April 30, at Reawick, Zetland, the Rev. W. B. Macwilliam, of Ashton-in-Makerfield, Lancashire, to Margaret, eldest daughter of Andrew Umphray, Esq., of Reawick. No cards.

DEATHS.

LONGSTAFF.—April 26, at his residence, Halstead Hall, near Horncastle, Lincolnshire, in his seventieth year, Mr. Robert Longstaff, deeply regretted by his family and circle of friends. The deceased honourably held the office of deacon for upwards of thirty years in the Horncastle Congregational church.

OSBORN.—April 28, at Dunstable, Joseph Osborn, senior, in the seventy-sixth year of his age.

MINSHALL.—May 1, at 42, Mornington-road, Regent's Park, London, after a short illness, Joseph E. Minshall, second son of Mr. Thomas Minshall, solicitor, Oswestry, aged twenty-six years. Friends will please accept this intimation.

HOLLOWAY'S PILLS are the medicines most in repute for curing the multifarious maladies which attack humanity when wet or cold weather gives place to more genial temperatures. In short these Pills afford relief to, if they fail of being an absolute remedy for, all the disturbances of circulation, digestion, and nervous energy which at times oppress a vast portion of the population. Under the wholesome purifying and strengthening powers exerted by these excellent Pills the tongue becomes clean, the appetite improves, digestion is quickened, and assimilation is rendered perfect. Holloway's medicine possesses the highly estimable property of cleansing the whole mass of blood which, in its renovated condition, carries purity, strength, and vigour to every tissue of the body.

BANK OF ENGLAND.

(From Wednesday's Gazette.)

An Account, pursuant to the Act 7th and 8th Victoria, cap. 37, for the week ending Wednesday, April 29.

ISSUE DEPARTMENT.

Notes issued	£34,387,470	Government Debt	£11,015,100
		Other Securities	3,984,900
		Gold Coin & Bullion	19,387,470
	£34,387,470		£34,387,470

BANKING DEPARTMENT.

Proprietors' Capital	£14,553,000	Government Securities (inc. dead weight annuity)	£13,277,696
Reserve	3,107,502	Other Securities	18,083,775
Public Deposits	4,800,100	Notes	10,236,365
Other Deposits	19,910,893	Gold & Silver Coin	1,245,416
Seven Day and other Bills	465,748		
	£42,843,252		£42,843,252

April 30, 1868.

GEORGE FORBES, Chief Cashier.

Markets.

CORN EXCHANGE, LONDON, Monday, May 4.

With a continuance of the most brilliant weather, the supply of English wheat to this morning's market, met a very dragging sale at a decline, in most instances, of 1s. per qr. on the rates of Monday last. Foreign also very dull, at a similar reduction in value. Barley firm at 1s. per qr. dearer. Beans and peas unaltered. The arrival of oats for the week

is moderate. The fine weather and general depression in other articles affected the trade to some extent for this article to-day, and Russian oats ex granary and inferior ship samples were each 6d. per qr. cheaper to sell. Fine heavy corn realised about former terms, but the sale was not active.

MARK-LANE, May 6.

Fresh up to our market to-day the arrivals of English wheat were very limited. The demand for all qualities, however, ruled extremely inactive, and the rates current on Monday last were barely maintained, the prevailing fine weather and the good prospects of the ensuing crops having had a depressing influence on the market. The show of foreign samples was extensive, but millers acted with great caution, and the quotations remain nominally unaltered. Barley was steady in value for both grinding and malting qualities. Good sound oats met a fair inquiry, at last week's prices; but inferior qualities were a dull sale, at Monday's reduction of 6d. to 1s. per qr. The malt trade was quiet, but factors demanded the full rates of Monday last. There was a good show of samples on the stands. Beans were inactive, on former terms. Peas were unaltered in value. Maize was dull, and rather lower to sell. Linseed and rapeseed were dull, and drooping in price. English seeds were nominally unchanged. Cakes were a slow sale, at late rates. The flour trade was very dull, but millers made no alteration in the top price of town-made qualities. Foreign and country markets were the turn lower.

ARRIVALS THIS WEEK.

	Wheat.	Barley.	Malt.	Oats.	Flour.
English & Scotch	610	—	1,940	—	250
Irish	—	—	—	—	—
Foreign	9,000	230	—	4,780	—
					150 sks.
					Maize 2,190 qrs.

CURRENT PRICES.

WHEAT—	Per Qr.	Per Qr.
Essex and Kent, red, old ..	72 to 77	43 to 45
Ditto new ..	66 to 75	46 to 48
White, old ..	75 to 82	45 to 48
" new ..	70 to 79	45 to 49
Foreign red ..	68 to 73	44 to 47
" white ..	73 to 75	43 to 48
BARLEY—		
English malting ..	86 to 88	33 to 35
Chevalier ..	89 to 48	30 to 32
Distilling ..	87 to 43	—
Foreign ..	85 to 37	—
MALT—		
Pale ..	—	—
Chevalier ..	—	—
Brown ..	54 to 63	—
BEANS—		
Ticks ..	43 to 46	—
Harrow ..	44 to 47	—
Small ..	—	—
Egyptian ..	43 to 44	—
PEAS—		
Grey ..	—	—
Maple ..	—	—
White ..	—	—
Boilers ..	—	—
Foreign, white ..	—	—
RYE ..	—	—
OATS—		
English feed ..	—	—
" potatoe ..	—	—
Scotch feed ..	—	—
" potatoe ..	—	—
Irish black ..	—	—
" white ..	—	—
Foreign feed ..	—	—
FLOUR—		
Town made ..	60 to 64	—
Country Marks ..	52 to 53	—
Norfolk & Suffolk ..	49 to 51	—

BREAD.—LONDON, Saturday, May 2.—The prices of wheaten bread in the metropolis are from 10d. to 10½d.; household ditto, 7½d. to 9d.

METROPOLITAN CATTLE MARKET.

LONDON, Monday, May 4.—The total imports of foreign stock into London last week amounted to 4,999 head. At the corresponding period in 1867 we received 12,019; in 1866, 7,168; in 1865, 9,352; in 1864, 7,807; in 1863, 6,101; in 1862, 1,537; and in 1861, 5,306 head. There was about an average supply of foreign stock here to-day in middling condition. The demand was far from active, at late rates. The arrivals of beasts fresh up from our own grazing districts, as well as from Ireland and Scotland, were only moderate. The general quality of the stock, however, was tolerably good. For most breeds there was a fair demand, at prices quite equal to last week. A few very superior Scots and crosses sold at 6s.; but the general top figure was 4s. 10d. per 8lbs. The arrivals from Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Cambridgeshire were about 1,700 Scots, shorthorns, and crosses; from other parts of England, 400 various breeds; from Scotland, 160 Scots and crosses; and from Ireland, 140 oxen, &c. The show of sheep was seasonably extensive, and in excellent condition. The inquiry for all breeds ruled steady, and previous rates were well supported. The few prime woolled sheep on offer sold at 5s. 2d. to 5s. 4d. The highest price of shorn sheep was 4s. 10d. per 8lbs. After to-day, our quotations will refer to shorn sheep only. The sale for lambs was inactive, at from 6s. 4d. to 7s. 4d. per 8lbs. The supply was rather extensive. We have little change to notice in the value of calves. Prices ranged from 4s. to 5s. per 8lbs. Pigs were tolerably firm in price; but the inquiry for them was far from active.

Per 8lbs. to sink the Offal.

	s. d.	s. d.		s. d.	s. d.		
Inf. coarse beasts	3	2 to 3	4	Prime Southdown	5	2 to 5	4
Second quality	3	6	8 to 10	Lambs	6	4 to 7	4
Prime large oxen	4	0	4 to 6	Lge. coarse calves	4	0 to 4	6
Prime Scots, &c.	4	8	5 to 0	Prime small	4	8 to 5	0
Coarse inf. sheep	3	6	4 to 0	Large hogs	3	4 to 3	8
Second quality	4	2	4 to 6	Neatam. porkers	3	10 to 4	4
Pr. coarse woolled	4	8	5 to 0				

Suckling calves, 22s. to 26s.; and quarter-old store pigs, 23s. to 26s. each.

NEWGATE AND LEADENHALL, Monday, May 4.

These markets are tolerably well supplied with meat for the time of year. Generally speaking the demand is inactive, at late rates. The imports of foreign meat into London last week amounted to 46 packages from Hamburg, 2 from Harlingen, and 2 from Antwerp.

Per 8lbs. by the carcass.

	s.	d.	s.	d.		s.	d.	s.	d.
Inferior beef	3	0	to	3	2	Inf. mutton	3	2	8
Middling ditto	3	4	to	3	8	Middling ditto	3	8	4
Prime large do.	3	10	to	4	2	Prime ditto	4	6	4
Do. small do.	4	4	to	4	6	Veal	3	6	4
Large pork	3	0	to	3	6	Lamb	6	0	6
Small pork	3	6	to	4	8				

BOROUGH HOP MARKET, Monday, May 4.—Our market continues without any alteration worthy of notice, the firmness alluded to in our last report having been fully maintained. Samples of fine Wealds and Sussex are now becoming scarce. Belgians and Barvarians of fine quality are in good demand, the quantity on offer being now very limited. The continental markets are all reported strong, with an upward tendency in prices. New York advices, to the 20th ult., report the market as quiet, and without alteration as regards prices. Mid and East Kent, 5l. 5s., 6l. 15s., to 7l. 15s.; Weald of Kent, 4l. 10s., 5l. 5s., to 6l. 6s.; Sussex, 4l. 10s., 5l. 5s., to 6l. 10s.; Farnham and country, 7l., 7l. 15s., to 8l. 8s.; Yearlings, 3l. 10s., 4l., to 4l. 10s. The following were the importations of foreign hops into London last week, viz., 56 bales from Boulogne, 128 Hamburg, 53 Rotterdam, and 21 Bremen.

PROVISIONS, Monday, May 4.—The arrivals last week from Ireland were 95 firkins butter, and 2,616 bales bacon; and from foreign ports, 30,763 casks, &c., butter, and 1,307 bales, and 50 boxes of bacon. The Cork butter market rapidly declined last week; thirds sold at 112s. to 110s., and fourths 107s., landed, to arrive. Foreign increasing in supply, and prices declined about 4s.; best Dutch 110s. Early in the week the bacon market ruled quiet, and lower prices accepted; but at the close there was more inquiry. Sales made of best Waterford at 75s. to 66s., on board; and the market ended

POTATOES.—BOROUGH AND SPITALFIELDS, Monday, May 4.—The supplies, both coastwise and by rail, have been less extensive, and the trade has ruled steady, at our quotations. Last week's importations into London consisted of 102 bags from Boulogne, 1,316 sacks Dunkirk, 40 boxes Gibraltar, and 9 cases from St. Michael's. Regents, 130s. to 170s. per ton; flukes, 130s. to 180s.; rooks, 90s. to 130s.; French, 80s. to 90s.

SEED, Monday, May 4.—Supplies of English cloverseed were limited, and prices of good red qualities were without any quotable variation. White seed was quite as dear. Trefolles were held with firmness. No change in any sort of mustardseed. Feeding tares were placed to a fair extent on former terms. Indian corn in good supply, and easier to buy.

WOOL, Monday, May 4.—The demand for English-made has been fair, at about the prices current last week. The new clip is now coming freely forward, and the quality is of a fair average character. Stocks are rather on the increase; but the revival of trade in the manufacturing districts will, in all probability, take off any quantity that may come to hand, notwithstanding the very considerable imports of colonial produce.

OIL, Monday, May 4.—Linseed oil is inactive on rather lower terms, there being sellers at 32l. 15s. to 33l. per ton. Rape and seed oils continue inactive for both English and foreign qualities. Cocoa-nut oil has been in brisk demand, and prices have been on the advance. Fine qualities of palm are scarce, and the quotations are firmly supported. Olive is unchanged. Turpentine is dull.

TALLOW, Monday, May 4.—The market is firmer, and P. Y. C., on the spot, is quoted at 44s. 3d. Town tallow 41s. 9d. net cash.

COAL, Monday, May 4.—Market very heavy, with no advance on last day's sale. Wallsend Hottens 18s. 6d., South Hottens 18s., Haswell 18s. 6d., Lambtons 17s. 6d., Hetton 16s., New Belmont 15s. 6d., Hawthorn 15s. 3d., Hartlepool 17s., Kellies 15s. 9d., Turnstall 16s., Holywell Main 15s. 9d., Wylam 15s. 3d., Harleys 16s. Ships fresh arrived, 62; ships left from last day, 26—38. Ships at sea, 20.

Advertisements.

IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the IRISH EVANGELICAL SOCIETY will be held, D.V., on MONDAY EVENING next, May 11th, in the Poultry Chapel. CHARLES REED, F.S.A., Treasurer, will take the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The following are expected to address the meeting:—Rev. Dr. A. Morton Brown, of Cheltenham; Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., of Surrey Chapel; Handel Coshman, Esq., of Bristol; Rev. J. B. Figgis, M.A., of Brighton; Henry Lee, Esq., of Manchester; Rev. A. A. Ramsey, of the Adelphi Chapel, Hackney; and other Gentlemen.

At this important juncture in the affairs of Ireland, the attendance of all the friends of its evangelisation is earnestly invited.

YOUNG MEN'S CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION.

The ANNUAL BREAKFAST will be held at 165, Aldersgate-street, E.C., on TUESDAY MORNING, 12th May, 1868, at six o'clock. FRANCIS A. BEVAN, Esq., will preside; and will be supported by the Rev. Noah H. Schenck, D.D., of the Episcopal Church, Brooklyn, U.S., as a representative of the Young Men's Christian Associations of the United States; Rev. Samuel Wainwright, Vicar of Holy Trinity, York; Rev. Henry Allon, Union Chapel, Islington; Rev. Luke H. Wiseman, of Holloway.

Tickets: Single, 2s.; double, for lady and gentlemen, or two ladies, 3s. 6d.; may be obtained until Saturday, the 9th of May inclusive, of the Book Society, 28, Paternoster-row; Elliot Stock, 62, Paternoster-row; Williams and Lloyd, 49, Moorgate-street; Dalton's, Cockspur-street; Nisbet's, Berners-street; and until noon on Monday, the 11th May, at the Offices of the Association, 165, Aldersgate-street, E.C.

HOME MISSIONARY SOCIETY.—The

Forty-ninth ANNUAL MEETING will be held (D.V.) on TUESDAY evening next, May 12th, in FINESBURY CHAPEL. SAMUEL MORLEY, Esq., treasurer of the society, will take the Chair at Seven o'clock.

The following ministers and other gentlemen have engaged to address the meeting:—Rev. Dr. Ross, of Swansea; Rev. Newman Hall, LL.B., of Surrey Chapel; Rev. W. Roberts, B.A., of Notting-hill; Rev. Dr. Brown, of Cheltenham; Rev. H. Varley, of Notting-hill; Thomas Barnes, Esq., M.P.; Josias Alexander, Esq.; Rev. J. Spurgeon, of Fetter-lane; and Rev. A. M'aulane, of Finsbury Chapel.

TURKISH MISSIONS AID SOCIETY.—

ANNUAL MEETING. TUESDAY, 12th May, at half-past two p.m., in WILLIS'S ROOMS, King street, St. James's. The Earl of SHAFTESBURY will preside. The native pastor of a large and influential Church in Mesopotamia, near to Ur of the Chaldees, and others well acquainted with the East, will be present, and will give information of a deeply interesting character.

COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of the COLONIAL MISSIONARY SOCIETY will be held in the WEIGH HOUSE CHAPEL, Fish-street-hill, on WEDNESDAY, May 13th, 1868. The Chair will be taken by GEORGE LEEMAN, Esq., M.P., at half-past six o'clock. The meeting will be addressed by the Rev. W. Cuthbertson, B.A., of Bishops Stortford, Rev. W. S. H. Fielden, of Walthamstow, Rev. J. Jeffries, LL.B., from Adelaide, South Australia, F. Allport, Esq., of Camberwell, and C. Reed, Esq., F.A.S.

THE ONE-HUNDREDTH ANNIVER-

SARY of the COUNTESS of HUNTINGDON'S COLLEGE, at CHESHUNT, will be held on THURSDAY, 25th of June, 1868.

The LITURGICAL SERVICE will be conducted by the Rev. NEWMAN HALL, LL.B.

The Rev. HENRY ALLON will read a Paper on "The Character and Work of the Countess of Huntingdon;" and the Rev. THOMAS BINNEY will preach the CENTENARY SERMON.

DINNER will be provided in a spacious Marquee in the College Grounds, and will be served at Two o'clock. The Very Rev. the Dean of CANTERBURY will preside; and at the Distribution of Prizes and Certificates.

Tickets for Dinner and Tea, 5s. (ministers, 2s. 6d.), may be obtained of the Secretary, at the College Rooms, 7, Blomfield-street, E.C.

The Rev. THOMAS GUTHRIE, D.D., will preach a mid-day Sermon in the City of London during the month of October next.

PASTORS' RETIRING FUND.

THE EIGHTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Managers and Members of the PASTORS' RETIRING FUND will be held in the CONGREGATIONAL LIBRARY, 18, South-street, Finsbury, on WEDNESDAY, the 13th of May, at half-past Four o'clock.

ROBERT FERGUSON.

EVANGELICAL CONTINENTAL SOCIETY.

The ANNUAL MEETING of this SOCIETY will be held May 20th, in the Lower Room, EXETER HALL. The Chair will be taken at half-past six o'clock by E. N. FOWLER, Esq. The Meeting will be addressed by the Rev. A. Hannay, M. Fisch, of Paris, M. Cammingard, of Geneva, and others. J. SHEDLOCK, Secretary.

7, Blomfield-street, May 5th.

BROCKLEY-ROAD CHAPEL, NEW CROSS.

MINISTER, Rev. J. T. WIGNER.

OPENING SERVICES.

The above place of worship will be opened for the Service of God, on Wednesday, May 20th. The Rev. A. Raleigh, D.D. (Chairman of the Congregational Union), will preach at 12½ at noon. The Rev. C. H. Spurgeon in the evening at 6.30.

Dinner and Tea will be provided in the Schoolroom under the Chapel.

Wm. McArthur, Esq., Sheriff of London, has kindly promised to preside.

SUNDAY, May 24.—Morning, 11.0, Rev. W. Landels, D.D. Evening, 6.30, Rev. W. G. Lewis.

TUESDAY, May 26.—Rev. Thomas Aveling, of Kingsland.

SUNDAY, May 31.—Morning, 11.0, Rev. John Raven, of Ipswich. Evening, 6.30, Rev. J. Angus, D.D., President of Regent's Park College. In the Afternoon of this day the Rev. John Raven will specially address the Young.

Collections will be made after each Service in aid of the Building Fund.

Donations will also be thankfully received by the Rev. J. T. WIGNER, Grove-Lane, Camberwell, S.E.

LONDON MISSIONARY SOCIETY. SEVENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL MEETING.

MONDAY, May 11th.

1. Morning, half-past Seven o'clock.—MISSION HOUSE, Blomfield-street. Prayer Meeting specially to implore the Divine blessing on the several Services of the Anniversary.
2. Afternoon.—MISSION HOUSE, Blomfield-street. Annual Meeting of Directors and Delegates, at Three o'clock.

WEDNESDAY, May 13th.

1. Morning.—SURREY CHAPEL. The usual Annual Sermon will be preached by the Rev. ROBERT HALL, D.D., of New College.

Service to commence at half-past Ten o'clock.

2. Evening. WESTMINSTER CHAPEL. A Special Sermon to Young Men will be preached by the Rev. C. H. SPURGEON.

Service to commence at Seven o'clock.

THURSDAY, May 14th.

1. Morning.—EXETER HALL. Annual Meeting of the Directors and Members of the Society. Chair will be taken at Ten o'clock by W. E. BAXTER, Esq., M.P. The Meeting will be addressed by the Revs. NEWMAN HALL, LL.B.; W. MURHEAD, Missionary, just returned from China; G. W. CONDOR, of Manchester; Dr. DAVIS, of the Religious Tract Society, and other Gentlemen.

Evening.—Juvenile Services will be held at the following places of Worship, at Seven o'clock—

2. WYOLIFFE CHAPEL, CHARLES REED, Esq., F.S.A., Chairman.
3. HAWLEY ROAD CHAPEL, Kentish Town, Rev. EDWARD WHITE, Chairman.
4. CAMBERWELL GREEN CONGREGATIONAL CHURCH, Rev. J. PHILLIPS, Chairman.

Tickets for the Meeting at Exeter Hall may be obtained at the Mission House, Blomfield-street, Finsbury.

MISSIONARY COMMUNION, Friday, May 15th.

Evening.—The Ordinance of the Lord's Supper will be administered to Stated Communicants of Christian Churches.

To Preside.

1. Craven-hill Chapel. Rev. A. McMillan.
2. Hanover Chapel, Peckham. Rev. E. Steane, D.D.
3. City-road Chapel. Rev. B. P. Clarke.
4. Stepney Meeting. Rev. J. G. Miall.
5. Kensington Congregational Church. Rev. J. Stoughton.
6. Lewisham High-road, Ditto. Rev. George Martin.

Service to commence at Seven o'clock.

ROBERT ROBINSON, Home Secretary.

Mission House, Blomfield-street, Finsbury, April 30th, 1868.

ENTRANTS IN 1867 PARTICIPATE IN FIFTH DIVISION OF PROFITS.

Mutual Assurance without Mutual Liability.—Profits applied so as to make Policies Payable in Lifetime, and so as to raise Second-class Lives after a defined period to First-class Rates.

BRITISH EQUITABLE ASSURANCE COMPANY.

4, QUEEN-STREET-PLACE, SOUTHWARK-BRIDGE, LONDON, E.C.

DIRECTORS.

- George Thomas Dale, Esq., Bayswater.
Edmund Dunn, Esq., Croydon.
William Gover, Esq., Blackheath.
William Sutton Gover, Esq., 4, Queen-street-place.
John Middleton Hare, Esq., Forest-hill.
Fountain John Hartley, Esq., Dalston.
John Smither, Esq., Wellclose-square.
Joseph Warrington, Esq., Lee-grove, Blackheath.

MANAGING DIRECTOR AND ACTUARY.

William Sutton Gover, Esq., F.S.S., F.I.A.

AUDITORS.

- Mr. Deputy Obbard, Blackheath.
Charles Brown, Esq., Waddon.
William George Lemon, Esq., Blackheath.

BANKERS.

The London and Westminster Bank.

PHYSICIAN.

William Munk, Esq., M.D., F.S.A. (Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians, London), 40, Finsbury-square.

SURGEON.

Thomas Carr Jackson, Esq. (Fellow of the Royal College of Surgeons, Surgeon to the Great Northern Hospital), King's-cross, 3, Weymouth-street, Portland-place.

CAPITAL FUND, A QUARTER OF A MILLION.

Accumulated Fund exceeds, £135,000.

New Business reported in 1867: 2,845 Policies, assuring £501,175.

No.

Policies in force - - 11,637 - Amount. £1,980,258

ENGAGEMENTS in a House of Business. by Two YOUNG LADIES, daughters of a highly respectable Tradesman. Not having been out before, a period of time will be given. L. P., 1, Milton-road Villas, Stoke Newington.

TO PARENTS and GUARDIANS.—MR. W. Fearham, Surgeon and Mechanical Dentist, has a VACANCY for an intelligent Youth as PUPIL, indoors. Reference required. Premium, 180 guineas. 13, Tynedale-place, Islington, N.

DRAPERY.—Re-engagement, either to conduct or take any confidential part in the above, by a YOUNG MAN, of thorough business habits, and good experience in all branches. Good references. A member of a Christian Church. T. W., Tower Mill, Botsdale, Suffolk.

TO DRAPERS.—A Re-engagement in the DRAPERY by a YOUNG LADY. Good references. A.B., Post-office, Fordingbridge, Hants.

CLERK, COLLECTOR, or place of Trust, by an energetic Christian YOUNG MAN, aged 21. Excellent references. E. G., Commerce House, New Barnet.

TO DRAPERS.—A Re-engagement as SALESWOMAN in Shop or Show-rooms, by an Experienced YOUNG LADY of thorough Business Habits. First-class references. London or Suburbs preferred. R. L., "Non-conformist" Office, 18, Boulevard-street, London, E.C.

COOK, good Plain, in a Minister's Family, a few miles from town. Must understand a dairy. A man servant kept. J. S., 7, Nicholas-lane, Lombard-street, E.C.

SEA.—VACANCIES for MIDSHIPMEN and First-class APPRENTICES in splendid clipper East Indian of large tonnage proceeding to India, &c. Berth and mess apart from crew. Premium moderate. Charles Hammond and Co., 5, St. Benet-place, Gracechurch-street.

WANTED, a Christian Person as PARTNER (to take the place of one retiring) in a first-class STAY and LADIES' OUTFITTING BUSINESS, established Seven Years. One with a knowledge of either Stay or Dress-making preferred. £150 required. References exchanged. Or would any philanthropic person lend the sum at 5 per cent. Good security would be offered, and comfortable apartments. Apply by letter to A. B. C., 1, Tamworth-terrace, Hornsey-road.

TO MASTER PASTRYCOOKS, CONFEC-TIONERS, and BISCUIT BAKERS.—WANTED, by a single, middle-aged, respectable man, a situation in the above. Country or Town. F. L., 17, Devon-terrace, Morning-lane, Hackney.

TO PASTRYCOOKS and CONFEC-TIONERS.—By a respectable young man, age 21, a situation in the above line. Good references. Apply to K.G., Mrs. Jearum, 2, North Walls, Winchester.

NURSE to TWO or THREE CHILDREN by a young person aged 35. Is accustomed to and fond of children. Wages required—£15. Satisfactory references. A. G., Post-office, Shipton, Chipping Norton, Oxfordshire.

APPRENTICE.—Jas. Ockenden, Homeo-pathic Chemist, Notting-hill, has a VACANCY for an active, intelligent YOUTH. Small premium required. Must be a total abstainer, and a Dissenter preferred.

UNFURNISHED APARTMENTS.—Draw-ing-room, two bedrooms, and kitchen, near Primrose-hill and Chalk Farm Station. No children or other lodgers. Young children objected to. 20, St. George's-road, Regent's-park, N.W.

STATIONERY OR FANCY BUSINESS.—Situation in either of the above, by a YOUNG LADY, aged 19. Will give six months of her time in lieu of premium. Understands bookkeeping. Good references. Address, Beta, Post-office, Bradford, Reading, Berks.

WANTED, by a YOUNG MAN, a situation as PORTER or WAREHOUSEMAN, aged 23. Good references. Address, O. M., O. Wrist, Grocer, &c., 86, High-street, Guildford, Surrey.

AS CLERK, by a Christian Young Man, aged 20. Good references. Total abstainer. Dissenter. Address, C. D., Post-office, White Notley, Witham, Essex.

A LADY wishes to recommend a YOUNG LADY of amiable disposition and superior manners, as USEFUL COMPANION, or to assist a lady in domestic affairs. The charge of children not objected to. Dissenter preferred. Address, C. M., Miss Varley, Manor-road, Lewisham High-road, S.E.

SITUATION WANTED, by a Steady Single YOUNG MAN, as BISCUIT BAKER and PASTRY COOK. No objection to a little bread. Or as a traveller, or any other capacity. Good character. Please address, with particulars, J. Harrington, 37, Clifton-wood-crescent, Clifton, Bristol.

REQUIRED, by a LADY experienced in TUITION, a Morning, Daily, or Afternoon ENGAGEMENT in the N. or N.W. district. Acquirements, English, French, music, and the rudiments of Latin. Address, A. B., care of Mrs. Keedy, 20, Torrillan-avenue, Camden-road, N.W.

WANTED, an efficient ASSISTANT MASTER for the BRITISH SCHOOL, LUTON, under Government Inspector. Apply to P. Woodton, Luton, Beds.

TO GROCERS.—COUNTERMAN, First, Re-engagement, by an Assistant. Twelve years' experience in the provision and grocery trades. Family preferred. Aged 28. Two years' undeniable references. State particulars. M. R., Post-office, Elmwell, Hurst-green.

TO GROCERS and PROVISION MERCHANTS. WANTED, by a young man of Four Years' experience, leaving home, a situation as SECOND COUNTERMAN. Moderate salary required. Address, A. B., Post-office, Cerne Abbas.

TO FAMILY GROCERS.—As COUNTERMAN in a good house, or first hand, by a Christian young man, of good address, with first-class experience and references. Member of a Congregational Church. Age 24. Salary, £30. W. S., 2, Rose-place, Sittingbourne, Kent.

TO GROCERS.—A Re-engagement as BOOK-KEEPER, and assist at the counter occasionally, or as good SECOND COUNTERMAN. Good references. A. B., Post-office, Stevenage, Berks.

TO GROCERS and PROVISION MERCHANTS.—As First or Second COUNTERMAN, by a thorough business young man, aged 24 years. Good references. R. D., Mr. Patrick's, Glendon Lodge, Kettering.

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AT THE ANNUAL MEETING of the CONGREGATIONAL SCHOOL, LEWISHAM, held at the Mission House, Blomfield-street, 28th April, EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P., in the Chair, the following Resolutions were passed:—

Moved by Rev. Geo. SMITH, D.D., seconded by Rev. B. FERGUSON, LL.D.,—(1) "That the Report now read be adopted and printed, and that the following gentlemen be the Committee and Officers for the ensuing year."

Moved by R. J. KITCHENER, Esq., seconded by Rev. J. G. ROBERTS, B.A.,—(2) "That in acknowledging the kindness and generosity of many valued friends, this meeting desires especially to express its gratitude for the grant of £100 recently made to the funds of the Congregational School by the Committee of the Congregational Union, a gift which it regards not only as an indication of spontaneous liberality, but also as an evidence of interest in the present welfare and future prosperity of the Institution."

Moved by W. HITCHIN, Esq., seconded by Rev. I. V. MUMFORD, F.R.A.S.,—(3) "That the warmest thanks of this meeting be presented to the Honorary Secretary, the Rev. JOSEPH VINNEY, for his indefatigable exertions in promoting the interests of the Institution during the past year; and for that untiring zeal and energy by which, as the result of great personal labour, the funds of the School have been materially relieved, at a time when they were greatly depressed, arising partly from the enlarged number of boys admitted, and partly from the enhanced prices of provisions, by which the cost of their maintenance has been considerably increased."

Moved by Rev. T. AVELING, seconded by Dr. LOCKHART,—(4) "That the best thanks of the meeting be presented to EDWARD BAINES, Esq., M.P., for his kindness in presiding on the present occasion, and also for his unremitting efforts to promote, in every possible way, the cause of National and Christian Education."

The following Special Donations towards the funds of the Institution are gratefully acknowledged by the Committee:—

	£	s.	d.
R. J. Kitchener, Esq.	5	5	0
M. Burdett, Esq.	5	5	0
D. Pratt, Esq., by do.	5	5	0
J. R. Mills, Esq., M.P.	21	0	0
Messrs. Spicer	5	0	0
Rev. J. Viney	10	10	0
A Friend, by do.	10	0	0
Rev. D. Blow	5	5	0
Mrs. Herne	5	0	0
Roger Cunliffe, Esq.	10	10	0
J. Perry, Esq.	5	5	0
C. Jupp, Esq.	5	5	0
Miss Stevens	5	5	0
Miss Edwards	5	5	0
Miss E. Edwards	5	5	0
Miss S. Edwards	1	1	0
A Friend	0	10	0
H. A.	10	0	0
A. G. O. E., per Rev. J. Viney	21	0	0
John Clapham, Esq.	5	5	0
Mrs. Metcalf Hopgood	5	5	0
Rev. Isaac Laundes, per Mr. Hitchin	1	0	0
Rev. Dr. Gill	1	1	0
G. A. Nodes, Esq.	5	5	0
Jno. Corrie, Esq.	3	3	0
G. H. Fearn, Esq.	1	1	0
Charles Roberts, Esq.	5	0	0
J. Newbold, Esq.	5	5	0
Mrs. Le Lacheur	5	5	0
E. Cholmer, Esq.	5	5	0
Edward Joseelyne, Esq.	0	10	0
F. W. Cobb, Esq.	5	5	0
Jno. Woolsten, Esq.	5	5	0
Robert Harris, Esq.	5	5	0
G. A. Fearn, Esq.	1	1	0
Mr. Jocelain	0	10	0
Mrs. Dawson	10	0	0
Mr. Pritchett	2	2	0
Messrs. Crossley and Sons	50	0	0
Mr. Gosling	1	0	0
Joshua Wilson, Esq.	5	0	0
Mr. W. S. Mullenger	0	10	0
Mr. Chas. Scruby	0	10	0
Miss Kinnaird	15	0	0
Congregational Union	100	0	0
Anonymous	25	0	0
Frederick Flint, Esq.	2	0	0
Mr. Joseph King	0	10	0
D. B. Denham, Esq.	5	0	0
Edward Baines, Esq., M.P.	5	0	0
John Newbold, Esq.	5	5	0
J. W. Carter, Esq.	5	5	0
Miss S. Cunliffe, per R. J. Kitchener, Esq.	5	5	0
N. P. Sharman, Esq.	5	5	0
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C. St. Ives, per Rev. E. J. Evans	5	5	0
Rev. J. A. Davies	5	5	0
Joelias Alexander, Esq.	5	5	0
Mrs. Jackson Taylor	10	10	0
Small Sums	0	17	0

Further Donations will be thankfully received by the Treasurer, R. J. Kitchener, Esq., or the Hon. Secretary, Rev. Josiah Viney, Highgate.

LANCASHIRE INDEPENDENT COLLEGE, MANCHESTER.

SHERBROOK FELLOWSHIP.—One of these Exhibitions (yearly value £50) will be offered for competition to students entering the theological course in September, 1868.

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Information respecting subjects of examination may be obtained from the Resident Professors, or from the Secretary, the Rev. J. H. Gwyther, B.A., Stalybridge.

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INVALID LIVES may be assured at rates proportioned to the increased risk.

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